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And Adam Gave Names – A Consideration of Name-Lore in Antiquity*

GEORGE R. STEWART

THE SOURCE OF THE QUOTATION which serves for my title has already been recognized, I take it, by most of you. Its wording suggests – though this I hasten to deny – that I am about to deliver a sermon, but there is certainly the suggestion of a text about my title, and I readily admit that it is from the King James Bible, and, in particular, from the second chapter of *Genesis* and the twentieth verse – "and Adam gave names."

What especially interests me about this quotation – in connection with the American Name Society – is that I can use it as a text to claim for our especial subject-matter a most ancient, and – I may think – a most honorable origin. For, note, the first man was also the first giver of names. Note also that in the Biblical narrative this is his first recorded activity. To be sure, immediately after his creation he doubtless breathed, looked about him, and moved his limbs. But these are taken for granted and are not noted down. The other was of sufficient significance for record – certainly the first intellectual action. Before he composed a poem, or wrote a scholarly article, or held a committee meeting, Adam gave names.

I now enter into an area where I scarcely dare tread. If Adam was the first to give names, who was the first to be interested in names and thus to be our first potential member? Here I call upon you to remember that this second chapter of *Genesis* forms part of what is known as the Jehovistic version, which is characterized by a delightfully anthropomorphic conception of the Deity. In the nineteenth verse, then, it is recorded, "And out of the ground the Lord God formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air;

* Presidential address at the meeting of the American Name Society, Madison, Wisconsin, September 10, 1957.

and brought them unto Adam to see what he would call them." This interest in what name Adam would give has always seemed to me, I am bound to admit, an attribute of the Lord which, as President of the American Name Society, I find particularly charming.

Now I am not going to require of you a literal acceptance of *Genesis*. But I would point out that this second chapter offers to us, as onomatologists, certain subjects for thought. There is, for instance, the most troublesome philosophical question of the distinction between proper name and common nouns. This has been of much concern to logicians, such as Mill, and has been of interest to our own member Professor Pulgram. But in the Garden of Eden, I maintain, this problem did not exist, because each male animal and each female was unique. When the Lord God brought to Adam a certain tawny and long-toothed beast of the field, and said, "What are you going to call this one, Adam?" and Adam said, 'Lion" then (there being only *one* lion) the sounds uttered by Adam must have been at once, I take it, a common noun and a proper name. In the jargon of logicians, the class consisted of only one example. Whether this commentary will prove of any use to linguistic anthropologists, I doubt – but, in any case, I now pass on.

In less speculative vein, as indicated by my sub-title, my topic this evening is concerned with the attitudes in what may vaguely be termed "antiquity" as regards place names. Taking advantage of the conventions of the presidential address, I shall range widely through the Hebrew, Greek, and Roman periods, but at the same time many of my citations will be from literary documents with which you may all be assumed to be familiar.

First, I would point out a fact that is not, I think, widely known among modern students of toponomy, that is, that in the classical period whole works – place-name books – were written. We have, for instance, references to Sostratus's *Second Book of Rivers*, to Timotheus's *Eleventh Book of Rivers*, and to Decyllus's *Third Book of Mountains*, and these authors dealt with the names.

Nevertheless, I think that scholarship has not suffered severely by the loss of the books – to judge by the nature of the surviving example, in which the others are mentioned.

This is a Greek work of about 100 A.D., previously ascribed to Plutarch and now conveniently said to be by the pseudo-Plutarch.

It may be called the earliest place-name book to be preserved. It consists of twenty-five short essays, each headed by the name of a river and usually including some discussion of the name of a near-by mountain – along with other *mis*information. For – I am sorry to say – this is not, from our point of view, to be considered a sound scholarly treatise or even a good popularization. If it should be sent to *Names* for a review, I am afraid we should have to deal very severely with it.

Let me give you a sampling . . . On the Scamander – which, you remember, is often mentioned in the *Iliad* – part of the entryuns:

> Scamander... was formerly called Xanthos, but changed its name upon this occasion. Scamander, the son of Corybas and Demodice, having beheld the ceremonies while the mysteries of Rhea were being solemnized, immediately ran mad, and being hurried away by his own fury to the River Xanthos, flung himself into the stream, which from thence was called Scamander.

There is no need to illustrate farther, because the entries may be expressed by a formula:

First, a river was formerly called such-and such. There is no example of a river having been nameless.

Second, a certain incident happened, involving a named person. This incident is violent; usually it involves incest (with which the pseudo-Plutarch seems to have been somewhat obsessed), and this incident ends by the named person drowning in the river.

Third, the river is then called by the person's name.

From this description you will agree, I am sure, that this is not a trustworthy work on the origin of place names.

None the less, it offers good examples of certain attitudes toward names that I find characteristic of classical antiquity.

The first of these is the general failure to conceive that a place, such as a river, was ever nameless, and that someone had had to bestow the first name. Since Columbus and the great age of exploration this has been a commonplace of our thought, but it was not so, apparently, for the ancient Greeks. This indicates – as we know from other evidence also – that this people came late into a Mediterranean world that was already civilized, thickly inhabited, and therefore thickly named. The Greek assumption seems to have been that a place always had a name. You learned what the name was, and used it.

This attitude shows even in the founding of new cities, colonies – which, you might think, would be something entirely new and therefore nameable, *ab ovo*. Yet probably a large majority of Greek foundations bore names of the country. In Sicily, for instance, we find Syracusa, Gela, Akragas, Himera, Catane, Leontini, Camarina – all supposed to be non-Greek names, that is, names that were there already.

A nice illustration is from Plato's *Laws*, which treats of the problems of founding a new city. But the naming is not considered a problem. As one of the characters is made to say (Book IV, Cap. 704), the name will be "determined by accident of locality and the original settlement – a river or spring, or some local deity, may give the sanction of a name."

Similar illustrations may be drawn from the *Odyssey*. The much-enduring hero, sometimes not even knowing where he is, comes to many a strange land, but never once does he think he needs to name it. This is in contrast with, for instance, the attitude in the Norse sagas about the discovery of America, in which the first act of the hero in sighting a hitherto unknown land is to give it a name.

Again in Book VI of the *Odyssey* we are told that Nausithous made a foundation: "He laid out the walls of a new city, built houses, erected temples, and allotted the land." Those are considered the essentials. He did not give it name. Instead, he used one that was there already – Scheria.

The ancient Greeks were certainly among the great creative peoples – but, curiously, their creativeness did not extend to naming. Mesopotamia is one of the few important names that is clearly Greek. Many important names such as Asia, Europe, and Egypt were transmitted through the Greeks and have Greek forms, but they are not generally believed to be Greek. Athens, Sparta, Thebes, Parnassus, Olympus, Arcadia – again, few scholars believe that any of these are Greek. The Greeks accepted names rather than gave them.

To find surely Greek place names we are forced to select very small features, particularly islands which were presumably uninhabited at the time when they became known to Greek voyagers. Thus the little islands north of Sicily bore in classical times, and most of them still bear – Greek names. And these are, as it happens, just the simple names that you will find for such features anywhere

– Round Island (which is Stromboli), Pine Island, Heather Island, Twin Island, Bone Island – this last, named from the skeletons of some Carthaginian mercenaries who were marooned there.

Incidentally, this practice of keeping the already-established name furnishes another refutation of the idea that the early Greeks felt themselves a people highly superior to the so-called barbarians. Here we have the contrast with the explorers of the fifteenth and later centuries. A Spaniard certainly felt himself superior even to a civilized Aztec or Inca, chiefly because of his religion. Those others were, literally, going to hell. As non-Christians they had essentially no rights, and so the Spaniard had no qualms about displacing their names, and especially in substituting those of his own religion – such as names of the saints, or Santa Fe, or Trinidad. And the other Europeans did very much the same.

To return to the pseudo-Plutarch (from whom we have wandered considerably) we see that he was thus a good Greek in his assumption that a name might be changed, but not given originally. In spite of bad logic and fixation upon incest, he also illustrates other principles of Greek thought.

Coming into the Mediterranean area, the Greek tribesmen accepted the place names, but these, being in a foreign language, or languages, were unintelligible. At the same time the invaders took over from the local inhabitants a large number of deities and mythological characters, who also bore unintelligible names. Moreover, these invaders – like most primitive peoples – had a rather strong animistic tendency. Possibly as the result of all this the distinction between a personal name and a place name was not, I think – for an early Greek – as clear as it is to us. If there was a river named Alpheus, there would be also a river-god named Alpheus. Which came first? Or did either come first? Were they merely one and the same?

Here we can recall Book XXI of the *Iliad*, in which Achilles fights against the River Xanthos. This is a passage which is not very satisfactory, I think, for most modern readers, because they are puzzled as to whether the opponent is the god or merely the flooding stream. To a Greek it probably raised no problem, because the name was for both.

To be sure, *xanthos* is a good descriptive term for a stream; it could mean Yellow River. But again this might not have suggested

to the Greek that the stream was named from the color of the water. He would have been just as likely to think that the god was so named because he had blond hair.

Related to what seems to be a partial failure to distinguish personal names from place names is another overwhelming tendency of the pseudo-Plutarch to derive the one from the other. The place – be it river or mountain – is there. But behind it, somewhere, is the person, and the person is conceived as coming first. Must we assume that the Greeks, more than other peoples, were interested in people and in personality?

You wonder, naturally, whether this argument has to be based entirely upon one obscure and even worthless late writer. No, it need not be. We might cite Diodorus Siculus, the elder Pliny, Strabo, and even others.

Strabo, for instance, usually an adequate and hard-headed geographer, writes (Lib., 14, I, 15) of the island Samos: "it was called Parthenia, then Anthemus, then Melamphyllus, and then Samos, whether after some native hero or after someone who colonized it." Here we notice, again, the assumptions that there was always an earlier name and that all the names for the island were originally those of people.

(And this, I may say, is of particular interest since in earlier books Strabo twice mentions that *samos* means a high place in some early language. Apparently in the later book he was using another source. In any case, it seemed reasonable to him that Samos should be a personal name.)

Quite similar passages may be quoted from the elder Pliny, whom we may consider a Roman under strong Greek influence. As an example, he gives as one possibility (Lib., VI, 28) of why the Red Sea should be so named by the assumption of a King Erythras, i. e., King Red, though that is scarcely a region where one would expect to find a red-head.

This system for the explanation of place names, we may say, makes little of phonetics, less of geography, and almost nothing of history.

We can thus be justified in a generalization that the method of the pseudo-Plutarch represents the characteristic Greek approach to place names – that is, to assume that a place had, in some way, always had a name, that it had borne two or more names, and that

these names were from persons, and most frequently from an incident involving those persons.

As one note of protest, however, we may cite Herodotus (Book IV) on certain names. He seems really to be somewhat annoyed at the general idea – lacking, he thinks, good evidence – that Libya, Asia, and Europe (his three continents) bear names of people, and particularly that these should be names of women. He sums up – and you may notice an almost petulant note – "As for Europe ... nobody knows where it got its name, unless we say from Europa the Tyrian woman – before that having been nameless, like the rest. This, however, is unlikely; for Europa was from Asia and never visited what is now called Europe, but only voyaged from Phoenicia to Crete and from Crete to Lycia. But that is quite enough on this matter – and in any case I shall continue to use the names which custom has made familiar."

As a cautious scholar, however, I wish – as a final note to this discussion of the Greeks – to sound a warning. Granted that nearly all these derivations are fanciful and nearly all these persons fictitiously attached to a fictitious incident, we do not need to go the whole way, as does Miss Jane Harrison in her *Themis* (p. 267): "An 'eponymous' hero never 'gives' his name, he always receives it." Since in historical times nothing is commoner than for a place to be named from a person, why should it not have been so also in pre-historical times? I even think that a certain amount of evidence can be educed that Europa was an actual princess of Tyre and that her name may be involved with that of the continent.

A question naturally to be raised is whether the principles here suggested as being Greek may not indeed be universal principles, applicable to all peoples. I have already, indeed – to some extent – demonstrated the contrary by citing the practise of various explorers. For further demonstration, I turn to that people who have so often been put forward in contrast to the Greeks, viz., the Hebrews.

Scattered through the Penteteuch and the Historical Books are about forty explanations of place names – a sufficient number to allow us to make some deductions.

We should, however, first note that the situation of the Hebrews, historically, was much like that of the Greeks. They were wild tribesmen who had conquered a civilized and thickly named country,

amalagamated with the inhabitants, and accepted the place names. A large number of the names, thus, were unintelligible, e. g., Jerusalem, itself. But, in spite of similar conditions, the Hebrews thought about names very differently from the way the Greeks did.

A an example, in *Exodus*, 15, we find the name Marah for a spring or waterhole in the desert. This is so commonplace a descriptive, when translated, that it is practically a generic – meaning, merely, "bitter" or "salt." But – and here is one of the few details in which the two peoples agree – tne Hebrew commentator ignores the descriptive quality. Instead, he says that Marah, though indeed it *was* salt, was so *called* because of a particular incident: "And when they [the children of Israel in the wilderness] came to Marah, they could not drink of the waters of Marah, for they were bitter: therefore, the name of it was called Marah."

It is easy to see what the pseudo-Plutarch or some other Greek would have made of it. He would – to make it short - have had a character named Marah who drowned there.

Moreover, in general, the Hebrew thought thus. In *Genesis*, 26, we have no fewer than four names explained, all from incidents. These may be, for all I know, the real origins, or the may be later rationalizations. From our present point of view this makes no difference, since in either case we see the same type of thinking involved.

Of these four names the most interesting, as well as the best known, is Beersheba. *Beer* means "spring," or "waterhole," and the commentator accepts this generic. *Sheba* could mean "seven," and might be taken in this sense to give a name of the common type Seven Wells. But the commentator prefers to take it in the meaning of "oath," and to tell of an incident in the life of the patriarch Isaac, involving an oath. Again, note the explanation by means of an incident, so that we have The Well of the Oath.

Also lacking from Hebrew commentaries in the suggestion that there was always a name. Most of the stories seem to assume that the described naming was the original and only one. Stories of places bearing first one name and then another are few, and are so circumstantial that they are probably historical, e. g., that Dan was first called Laish, and that Bethel was first called Luz. Entirely lacking are the long lists of successive names for the same place.

In one circumstance, however, a change of name seems to have been conventional, that is, that when a man captured a city, it would take his name. We see this custom, apparently, in *Numbers*, 32:

> And Jair... went and took the small towns thereof [i.e., of Gilead], and called them Havothjair [i.e., the villages of Jair].
>
> And Nobah went and took Kenath, ... and called it Nobah, after his own name.

This explains why Jerusalem was sometimes known as the City of David, after he had captured it. On the custom we are lucky enough to have direct evidence in *II Samuel*, 12. When Joab – that ever-loyal royalist – is successfully besieging Rabbah, he sends word to King David to come: "lest I take the city, and it be called by my name."

The difference between Hebrew and Greek necessarily is displayed in the kind of names selected for treatment. The Greek could treat any name, intelligible or not. For instance, he could merely have said that there was a king named Jerusalem, and have gone on from there. But the Hebrew had to have a name that made sense in his own language – either genuinely or by folk-etymology. This might even lead him into a kind of playing with words, or punning which is quite uncharacteristic of Greek name-lore.

A good case of this occurs in *Genesis*, 19, when Lot pleads with the Lord to spare one city from the disaster of Sodom and Gomorrah – "Is it not a little one?" The commentator adds, "Therefore the name of the city was called Zoar." Now, Zoar means "little," and that may have been the historical reason for the city's being so named, just as we have the English name Littleton. But again, in the anecdote, we note the overwhelming love of the Hebrews for incident – in this case, even for the verbalism of a play on words.

On the whole, however, few of the Hebrew explanations are as far-fetched as this, and they are for this reason better stories than the Greek ones, I think, both from the literary and from the onomastic point of view. The pseudo-Plutarch leaves me cold, but many of the Hebrew stories stir my imagination, and I have the feeling that at least they *might* be true.

Take Allonbachuth, as explained in *Genesis*, 35. It means literally "Oak-tree of weeping," and so might really preserve the memory of some misfortune. The explanation runs: "But Deborah

Rebekah's nurse died, and she was buried beneath Beth-el under an oak: and the name of it was called the Oak of Weeping". It was *not* called Deborah's Oak, and so we note again what we might call the flight from personality. We have also the tying-up of the tale to the patriarchal cycle, with resulting credibility and even possibility of truth – all the more so, perhaps, since this is (and I think this very curious) – this is the only place in the Bible where Rebekah's nurse is mentioned at all.

Finally, I might say that among the Biblical stories one or two have every appearance of being really historical, and these too are of interest as showing attitudes. Such a one is that of Shomeron, the important city we know by the Latinized form as Samaria. The passage in *I Kings*, 16, 24, runs: "he [King Omri] bought the hill Shemeron from Shemer, and called the name of the city which he built after the name of Shemer, owner of the hill." Here at last we have a resemblance to the Greek practice in that the king did not call the city after himself, but kept the already-existing local name. The same holds true even when we realize that the Hebrew radical sh-m-r means "watch," and that the owner Shemer may possibly have been invented for a hill which really took its name because it was a lookout.

*

What I have here been attempting to set forth is obviously the Hebrew and Greek imagination with respect to names rather than their actual practice at naming. Yet we who study names should never forget that we are dealing with a highly imaginative process. And even this sketchy presentation should serve to show how different two contemporary and not very far-removed peoples can be in their attitudes – the Greek explaining names as commemorations of persons; the Hebrew, in terms of incidents.

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Scandinavian Place Names in England. II.

ASSAR JANZÉN

Hipswell

A VILLAGE IN CATTERICK PARISH Hang East wapentake, North Riding of Yorkshire, bears the name of *Hipswell*, of which several medieval instances are known: *Hiplewelle* 1086 Domesday Book (hereafter abbreviated DB), *Hippleswell* 12th century, *Hippeswell(e)* 1184–1561 (*passim*), *Hippeleswell(e)* 1260 and 1300, *Hipleswelle* ca. 1270, *Hippliswell* 1301, *Hipsewell* 1545.

EPNS, Vol. 5, p. 244, refers to OE *w(i)ella* "a well, a spring, a stream" as the second element. But for the first element no satisfactory personal name can be suggested. It is considered possible that it may be a lost *hȳpels* (Angl. *hēpels*), a derivative of OE *hēap* "heap", here used of a hill as in *Heape* (*de Hep* 1226) in Lancashire.[1] If this is correct there must have been a very early shortening of *ē* to *ĕ* and subsequent raising to *ĭ*. As a parallel to the alleged development is given *Redmire* in the same wapentake (*op. cit.*, p. 257), which has been recorded as *Rid(e)mare* 1086 DB and 1173, *Ridemere* 1166–1403 (*passim*), *Redmera* 1167, *Redmar* 1243, *Redmire* 1665. This name may, according to Ekwall, *loc. cit.*, have the first element OE *hreod* "reed," an interpretation that is not irrefutable.[2] *Hipswell* would, then, mean "hill stream or spring." This suggestion is found to be supported by topographical facts, since there is an isolated hill on the west side of the village which might well have been called **hȳpels*.

The factors in this interpretation are too uncertain to make it acceptable. It seems desirable to look for a more convincing etymology of the first element. E. Ekwall, *Dict.*, p. 230, suggests that it is an OE plural form **hyppels* "stepping-stones," a derivative of **hyppan* "to hop," from which is formed dial. *hippings* "stepping-

[1] Cf. E. Ekwall, *The place-names of Lancashire*, p. 61.

[2] E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford dictionary of English place-names* (hereafter abbreviated Ekwall, *Dict.*), p. 366, gives no indication of other possible interpretations.

stones." The meaning of *Hipswell* would be "the stream with stepping-stones."

The stream referred to is a small brook, about five miles long, which in its upper course is called *Risedale Beck*, already ca. 1200 *Risedalbec*, and in its lower course *Colburn Beck*. There is a farm with the name of *Colburn* (*Colebrun(n)* 12th century), which by *EPNS*, Vol. 5, p. 243, is interpreted as an original river-name. The last element is OE *burna* "a spring, a stream." About the first element it is said: "The first element is probably OE *col* 'cool' or OE *col*, ON *kol* 'coal,' the latter being an allusion to the dark colour of the water, as in the Norw river-name *Kola*. Colburn, therefore, means either 'cool stream' or 'coal-black stream.'" Judging from the map, there seems to be no reason why the water of this little brook should be cooler than that of others. Therefore the latter alternative seems more likely.

Ekwall's suggestion is hesitatively adopted by A. H. Smith, *English place-name elements*, Vol. 1, p. 276.

This interpretation implies that the first element is a plural form ending in *-s*, which is rather unlikely in a compound that was formed already in the OE period. The first elements of *Risedale* and *Colburn* may be either Old English or Old Norse. *EPNS*, Vol. 5, p. XXVIII, states that the Norwegian colonization in this area was very strong. "In Hang East, south of Catterick, there was a large [Norwegian] settlement, as is indicated by such names as *Scalerig* in Hudswell and *Scaleflath* in Colburn (containing *skáli*), *Leveragille* near *Mircgrim*, *Thieves Gill*, *Helegile* and *Wythegile* (containing *gil*), all near *Hipswell*." In view of this fact it seems very probable that the first elements of *Risedale* and *Colburn* are Scandinavian. In my opinion, *Hipswell* also contains a Scandinavian word.

Among the many islands in the archipelago off the city of Gothenburg on the Swedish west-coast one is named *Hyppeln*, def. sing. (*Hyppel* ca. 1528). Further north another little island has the same name (no old forms). This name has by E. Abrahamson, *Minnesskrift utgiven av Filologiska Samfundet i Göteborg*, 1925, been convincingly identified with West-Swed. dial. *hyppel*, m. 'a bump, a hump, a swelling,'[3] developed through the mainly West-Scandinavian assimilation *mp* > *pp* from the same formation as East-Swed.

[3] This interpretation is adopted by *Ortnamnen i Göteborgs och Bohus län* (hereafter abbreviated *OGB*), Vol. 4, p. 64.

hympil, *hymppyl*, m. "a hill,"[4] *hympel*, m. "a boy,"[5] Mod. Low German *hümpel*, m. "a heap,"[6] MLG *humpel*, m. "a heap."[7] The radical word is to be found in Norw. dial. *hump*, m. "a knob of rock, a rocky hill,"[8] Engl. *hump* "a protuberance on the back or other part of the body; a rounded boss of earth, rock etc.; a hummock."[9]

This interpretation implies that *hyppel* once denoted the isolated hill on the west side of the village *Hipswell*, in principle the same as the one suggested by *EPNS*. Cf. the already mentioned *Heap* in Lancashire; *Humbleton* (*Humeltone* 1086 DB) in the East Riding of Yorkshire, which according to *EPNS*, Vol. 14, pp. 54f., may contain Norw. dial. *humul*, m. "a round rock." Swed. dial. *hummel*, m. "a protuberance, a hillock," Scots dial. *humble* "hornless;"[10] OE *swell*, f. "a swelling" with topographical application in names of hills;[11] *Tjörn* (*Þjornar*, gen. 12th century), the name of an island off the west-coast of Sweden, which is an *n*-derivation of an ON counterpart to OE *þēor* (gender uncertain) "a boil, a swelling;"[12] and many other hill-names with the same original meaning of "a swelling, a bump, a hump."

It is interesting to note that the rather small stream here concerned seems to have three names already during the Middle Ages. It is, however, probable that each name referred only to a certain part of the course. But it ought to be explored whether *Hipswell*

[4] H. Vendell, *Ordbok öfver de östsvenska dialekterna* (Helsingfors, 1904–07), p. 373.

[5] J. E. Rietz, *Svenskt dialekt-lexikon* (Lund, 1867), p. 267. For the meaning "a boy" cf. Swed. (dial.) *knatte*, m. "a little boy" and "a rock hill."

[6] *Bremisch-niedersächsisches Wörterbuch* (Bremen, 1767), Vol. 2, p. 669.

[7] Lübben-Walther, *Mittelniederdeutsches Handwörterbuch*, p. 153.

[8] I. Aasen, *Norsk Ordbok*, p. 306.

[9] *NED*, Vol. 5, p. 454. Other related words are adduced by Abrahamson, *loc. cit.*

[10] It is said, *loc. cit.*, that the meaning "rounded hillock" is suitable because there are many low, glacial mounds in the neighborhood, and "*hummel* might well be used of one of them." Why cannot the first element be a gen. plur. ON **Hum(b)la-* denoting *several* such mounds? Several names containing OE **hamol*, **humol*, are adduced by Allen Mawer, *Namn och bygd*, Vol. 9, pp. 56ff.; cf. A. H. Smith, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 268.

[11] E. Ekwall, *Studies on English place-names* (Stockholm, 1936), pp. 151ff.; cf. A. H. Smith, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 171.

[12] Hj. Lindroth, *Minnesskrift utgiven av Filologiska Samfundet i Göteborg*, 1920, pp. 15ff., where several Scandinavian place-names containing *þjōr-*, *þjūr-* with *n*-suffix are adduced.

may not be the name of a spring in the neighborhood of the isolated hill called **Hyppel*.

Hybrid names in which the first element is a Scandinavian and the second an English word are not rare in this region; cf., for instance, from the North Riding, *Loft Marishes* (*Loctemersc* 1086 DB) containing ON *lopt* and OE *mersc* (*EPNS*, Vol. 5, p. 95).

J. B. Johnston, *The place-names of England and Wales* (1915), p. 305, came pretty close to the same interpretation as the one here offered. He says: "There is no [personal] name [as the first element] at all likely here, so this must be 'well at the *hipple*,' or 'little heap,' first recorded in *Oxf. Dict.* in 1382 as *hypil*, *heepil*, and derived fr. OE **hiepel*, *hýpel*, cf. Ger. *häufel*."

Joseph Wright, *The Engl. Dial. Dict.* Vol. 3 (1902), p. 172, the *Oxford Engl. Dict.*, Vol. 5 (1933), p. 296, *EPNS*, Vol. 5, p. 244, and others interpret the Engl. dial. *hipple* as a diminutive of *heap*. The late appearance of the word (1382), its purely dialectal existence, restricted to Yorkeshire,[13] as well as its phonetic forms indicate, however, to me that it is a Scandinavian loan-word, identical with West-Swed. dial *hyppel*, m. "a bump, a hump, a swelling."

Lackenby

In the township of Wilton, Ormesby parish, Langbargh West wapentake, North Riding of Yorkshire, is a farm named *Lackenby*. Several medieval forms are known, e. g. *Lache(ne)bi* 1086 DB, *Lacnebi*, *-by* 12th century and 1308, *Lachenbi*, *-by* 12th century and 1202, *Lacke(ne)by* 1208, *Lacceneby* 1218–33, *Lachaneby* 1231, etc.

J. B. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 334, interprets the first element as the personal name *Lacen*, which is "still found as *Laking*." – A. H. Smith, *Revue Celtique*, Vol. 44, p. 49, translates the name "Lachan's farm" and holds the first element probably to be the OIr. personal name *Lochan*, a diminutive in *-an* from OIr. *loch* "black" (cf. Welsh *llwg* "livid"). As to the treatment of the vowel in the first syllable of the place-name he states (p. 40) that OIr. *o* may occur as *a*, for instance in the place-name *Stainpapan* (Yorkshire, West Riding) recorded as *Stainpapan* in the 13th century. This name is an example of an inverted compound containing ON *steinn* "a stone" and, according to Ekwall,[14] probably an OIr. personal name **Popan*,

[13] Joseph Wright, *loc. cit.*

[14] E. Ekwall, *Scandinavian and Celts in the North-West of England*, p. 47.

based on OIr. *popa* "a teacher." He also compares such Old Icelandic forms as *Kalman*, *Kamban*, from OIr. *Colmán*, **Combán*.

EPNS, Vol. 5 (written by A. H. Smith), pp. 159f., considers it probable that the first element is a personal name and suggests in the first place an ON by-name **Lækni*, a weak by-form to *Læknir*. But from the persistence of *-ene* and *-ane* as endings in the first element this etymology is "extremely doubtful." Therefore, as a more likely derivation is given Smith's suggestion, just quoted, that it is OIr. *Lochán*. The vowel *a* for Ir. *o* is explained as being due to the influence of Scandinavians who introduced the name. Smith goes on to say: "Normally in Ir. pers. names introduced by the Norwegians into Yorkshire place-names no trace of the OIr. gen. *-ain* is preserved, but Ekwall (*op. cit.* 54, note) cites one or two examples which might well be from this form. The early forms of *Lackenby* with *-ene* should probably, therefore, be regarded as survivals of the OIr. gen. ending *-ain*."

E. Ekwall, *Dict.*, p. 270, holds the interpretation of the first element as OIr. *Lochán* as possible. A. H. Smith, *English place-name elements*, Vol. 1, p. 71, adduces *Lackenby* among names that contain Old Irish personal names.

Lackenby is situated in a region where the Scandinavian and particularly the Norwegian colonization was extremely dense. Cf. *EPNS*, Vol. 5, p. XXVII: "In Langbargh East and Langbargh West, where Danish influence was not extensive, there are indications of a thorough settlement by Norwegians, especially round Guisborough and the district to the west." Lackenby is about three miles north-west of Guisborough. There do exist, in the neighborhood, some place-names in which the first element is an Irish personal name, but they are few. *EPNS*, Vol. 5, p. 333, gives only four cases in the whole North Riding.

On the other hand, almost all place-names ending in *-by* in Langbargh West wapentake contain typically Old Scandinavian personal names, e. g. *Ormesby* (*Ormr*), *Tollesby* (*Tollr*), *Maltby* (*Malti*), *Thornaby* (*Þormóðr*), *Stainsby* (*Steinn*), *Thoraldby* (*Þóraldr*), etc.[15]

[15] The only name in *-by* in this wapentake that may not contain an entirely native Scandinavian personal name is *Dromonby* (*Tromundesbi* ca. 1150, *Dromundby* ca. 1190, *Dromundebi*, *-by* 1190–1310, *passim*), which, however, was *Dragmalebi* 1086 DB. *EPNS*, Vol. 5, pp. 168f., finds it evident that this farm originally was in the possession of one *Dragmel* (recorded 1052; cf. ON *dragmáll*, adj. "talking slowly

Therefore it seems more probable that *Lackenby*, too, was named after a Scandinavian settler.

I suggest that it is an ON by-name **Lakkandi*, a present participle of the same verb as Norw. dial. *lakka* "to trip along; to run; to hop on one foot;"[16] Mod. Dan. *lakke* "to walk slowly in a quiet, even motion;"[17] Dan. dial. (Jutland) *lakke* "to walk evenly and slowly;"[18] Early Mod. Swed. (17th and 18th centuries) *lacka* "to trudge, to jog-trot;"[19] Swed. dial. *lacka* "to run."[20]

Thus, the postulated by-name **Lakkandi* had reference to the gait of the pertinent person as being slow, tripping, running or the like. It is possible that the Old Danish by-name *Lakki* has the same implication[21]. It is not difficult to find both semantic and morphological parallels to the assumed **Lakkandi*. A perfect counterpart is the ON by-name and first name *Stígandi*, as first name more often in the strong form *Stígandr*,[22] which is well known also in England.[23] It is the pres. part. of ON *stíga* "to step, to stride."[24] Reference to

and draggingly") before it passed to *Dromundr*. This by-name seems to be identical with ON *drómundr*, m. "a war-ship", which is a scandinavianized form of Old French *dromon, dromont, dromunz* "a swift sailer", from. Lat. *dromō* (gen. *dromōnis*) "a swift ship", Greek δρόμον, m. "a runner; a light vessel," see Hj. Falk, *Altnordisches Seewesen* (*Wörter und Sachen*, Vol. 4), pp. 87f.; F. Jónsson, *Tilnavne i den islandske oldlitteratur*, p. 280; E. H. Lind, *Norsk-isländska personbinamn från medeltiden*, col. 65; A. Jóhannesson, *Isländisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 974; E. Ekwall, *Dict.*, p. 145. Leiv Heggstad, *Gamalnorsk ordbok*, p. 103, seems to think of native origin by referring to Norw. *droma* "to loiter". At any rate, both settlers named *Dragmel* and *Drómundr* were no doubt Scandinavians.

[16]) Ivar Aasen, *Norsk Ordbog*, p. 419; H. Ross, *Norsk Ordbog*, p. 463.

[17]) *Ordbog over det danske Sprog*, Vol. 12, col. 220.

[18]) H. F. Feilberg, *Bidrag til en ordbog over jyske almuesmål*, Vol. 2, p. 368.

[19]) *Svenska Akademiens ordbok*, Vol. 15, L, col. 20.

[20]) J. E. Rietz, *Svenskt dialekt-lexikon*, p. 390. – Cf. also A. Torp, *Nynorsk etymologisk ordbok*, p. 361; E. Hellquist, *Svensk etymologisk ordbok* (1939), p. 554.

[21]) *Danmarks gamle Personnavne*. II. *Tilnavne*, col. 648.

[22]) E. H. Lind, *Norsk-isländska personbinamn från medeltiden*, col. 361; *Norsk isländska dopnamn och fingerade namn från medeltiden*, col. 963.

[23]) Erik Björkman, *Nordische Personennamen*, p. 131; *Zur Englischen Namenkunde* (*Studien zur Englischen Philologie*, Vol. 47), p. 80; O. von Feilitzen, *The pre-conquest personal names of Domesday Book*, pp. 374f.

[24]) A certain *þrándr stígandi* i Eyrbyggja Saga is said to have been "manna fóthvatastr", i.e. an extremely fast runner. Therefore E. H. Lind, *Norsk-isländska personbinamn*, col. 361, assumes the meaning of the by-name to be "running fast", which hardly is correct. F. Jónsson, *op. cit.*, p. 222, gives the meaning as "walking with long steps." B. Kahle, *Die altwestnordischen Beinamen bis etwa zum Jahre 1400*

gait and locomotion is also evident in the following ON by-names: *Vakkandi* (ON *vakka* "to walk about"), *Hlaupandr*, *Hlaupari* (ON *hlaupa* "to run"), *Rúsari* (ON *rúsa* "to rush"), *Vaggaðr* (ON *vagga* "to rock").[25]

It would be tempting to assume that *Lackandi* was a pres. part. of the widely distributed Scandinavian verb *lakka*, *lacka* "to drip, to trickle" used as a name of a brook or a race, but there is, as far as I can see on maps available to me, not the smallest stream in the neighborhood of Lackenby.

For the development of *-anda-* > *-en-* cf., for instance, the stream names *Routen Beck* (*Rutenbec* 1195) and *Routin Beck* in Cumberland and Yorkshire respectively, both derived from ON **Rūtandabekkr* (**Rjōtanda-*?, **Hrjōtanda-*?, *Rautanda-*?).[26]

Musley Bank

The present farm-name *Musley Bank* in Huttons Ambo parish, Bulmer wapentake, North Riding of Yorkshire, was earlier *Musecliue*, *-clyve* 13th and 14th centuries, *Musecleue* 13th century.

EPNS, Vol. 5, pp. 41f. (cf. pp. 311, 323), interprets the name as "Musi's bank", containing the Scandinavian personal by-name *Músi* and OE *clif* "a cliff, a bank." This explanation suggests a hybrid formation, which is possible, but I see no reason for not assuming the second element to be ON *klif*, n. which frequently occurs in Scandinavian place-names in the Danelaw; see, for instance, A. H. Smith, *English place-name elements*, Vol. 1, pp. 98f. The translation of the last element as "a bank" is too wide. In this case we are able to determine quite definitely the meaning thanks to the topographical information given, namely that there is a steep declivity at the place. In Scandinavian place-names *klif*, n., extremely often refers to just such localities; cf., for instance, the translation given in *Svenska Akademiens Ordbok*, Vol. 14, *K*, col. 1197 of Mod. Swed. *klev*, "a crevice or ravine in a steep hillside (through which one can ascend the hill); steep road or path up a

(*Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, Vol. 26), p. 174, suggests alternatively the meaning "roving". Since the verb *stiga* means "to stride", there is no doubt that the by-name originally indicated a striding gait. Used as a first name it probably lost its meaning.

[25] See the just cited works on Old Norse by-names (Lind, Jónsson, Kahle), *passim*.

[26] E. Ekwall, *English River-names*, pp. 348ff.; not quite satisfactorily.

hill; gorge, crevice;"[27] as well as O. Rygh, *Norske Gaardnavne, Indledning*, pp. 60f., A. Janzén, *Names*, Vol. 1957, p. 106.

It seems as though the first element *Mus(e)-*, which occurs quite frequently in Scandinavian place-names in the Danelaw, in *EPNS* is interpreted either as the nickname *Mūsi* or as characterizing the place as being infested with mice.[28] Judging from *EPNS*, the name *Mūsi* should have been a rather common name in Scandinavian England. It is recorded in Lincolnshire in 1207 (*EPNS*, *loc. cit.*), but not in *Domesday Book*. It does not occur in the material included in E. Björkman, *Nordische Personennamen in England*. Thus, the lack of instances of the name in independent use indicates that *Mūsi* was not a name of common use in England. Nor was it in Scandinavia. E. H. Lind, *Norsk-isländska personbinamn från medeltiden*, p. 263, adduces three rather late instances. He also refers to four Norwegian place-names *Muserud* and one *Mustvet*, in which, however, the first element may equally well be gen. plur. of the appellative *mūs*, f. In Denmark a name *Muse* is not on record in independent use, neither as a given name nor as a nickname.[29] Nor have I found any certain instance from Sweden.

The first element *Mus(e)-* in place-names may, however, have another allusion, which I have noted only once in *EPNS*, viz. concerning the name *Muscott* in Northamptonshire, which is given the following interpretation (Vol. 10, p. 27): "This is probably from OE *mūsa-cote*, "mice's cottages," . . . perhaps a nickname for some humble dwellings." It seems possible that a similar evaluation may have caused at least some of the Norwegian names *Muserud* and *Mustvet*.[30] Names of abominable animals are quite often used in place-names of disparaging nature, cf. the common English name *Rattan Row*.

It seems far from impossible that a similar depreciatory attitude may have gone to produce the name *Musley* < *Mūsa-klif*. The name could designate the declivity as being so narrow or so steep that only mice could get up there.

[27] Mod. Swed. *klev* represents both O.Swed. *klēf* (ON *kleif*), f., and O.Swed. *klif* (ON *klif*), n. Both words denoted localities of identical or similar nature.

[28] See, for instance, Vol. 14, pp. IIIf.; 22, p. 252.

[29] See *Danmarks gamle Personnavne*, Vol. 1, col. 972; Vol. 2, col. 750ff. The Old Danish byname *Muse* is identical with ON *mose*, m. "a bog".

[30] The same may be said about the West-Swed. *Muserödt* (1586), differently interpreted by G. Sohlberg in *Ortnamnen i Göteborgs och Bohus län*, Vol. 20 : 1, p. 109.

There is in south-western Sweden, just a few miles from the Norwegian borderline, a narrow sloping glen which is called *Museklev*. This name may be identical with the English *Musley*, although it is possible that the second element is the same word as ON *kleif*, f., rather than *klif*, n. As far as the meaning is concerned, the identity of the second element is of little or no significance. Perhaps the Swedish name was given for reasons just indicated. However, G. Sohlberg, *Ortnamnen i Göteborgs och Bohus län*, Vol. 20:1, p. 135, gives another interpretation. The word *mus* denotes in the Scandinavian languages several (muscular) parts of the body of men and animals that resemble a mouse, e. g. muscle on the chest or the thigh, biceps, thenar. In vulgar language as well as in the dialects it also signifies the female genital parts. Sohlberg suggests that the Swedish name *Museklev* either indicates presence of mice or, more likely, is of obscene nature referring to the narrowness of the locality in question. If there is such a narrow crevice at *Musley* in Yorkshire it is quite possible that the often drastic principles of name-giving of the old Scandinavians were used also in their new environment. At any rate, I interpret *Musley* as a Scandinavian name and consider a derogatory or obscene meaning more plausible than the two alternatives given in *EPNS*, Vol. 5, pp. 41 f.

Dinnand

On the 6″ map of the Ordnance Survey occurs the name *Dinnand* of a boundary stone on the hills in the north of Danby parish, Langbargh East wapentake, North Riding of Yorkshire. It is recorded as *le Dynant* 1273. *EPNS*, Vol. 5, p. 132, dubitatively suggests the following interpretation: "Possibly we have here to deal with a Celtic name, for the name is not of a Germanic type. If this surmise is correct the name is no doubt from Brit. *din* 'hill, fort' (cf. Welsh *din* 'hill,' Cornish *din* 'a fort') extended by a suffix *-ant*, which also enters into the name of the old Northumbrian kingdom of *Bernicia* (Brit. **Briganticia*) and the tribal name *Brigantes*."

This is a rather strange reasoning. The morphological type represented by **Briganticia* and *Brigantes* is of a very old age and mostly present in old names; cf. Βριγάντιον 1st century, *Strabo*, the present *Bregenz* in Vorarlberg Germany, and see A. Bach,

Deutsche Namenkunde, II: 1, pp. 213ff., and the literature there quoted. This is a completely different type of derivation than the one postulated in **din-ant-*, with a noun as the first element. The suggestion given in *EPNS* is to be declined without further argumentation.

Now there are in Scandinavia a large number of stones and other (rock) formations that have names referring to roaring or rumbling sounds. Only in the comparatively small area in south-western Sweden comprising the provinces Bohuslän, Dalsland and half Västergötland we find, among others, the following names: *Glömsten* (now a small farm, originally a boundary stone), *Glåmåsen*, *Glömåsen*, *Glöm* (cf. ON *glymr*, m., *glaumir*, m. "a noise, a roar," *glymja* "to roar, to rumble, to resound");[31] *Bummerås* (cf. Swed. dial. *bumra* "to rumble");[32] *Dunk(e)hallar* (twice), *Dunkeberg* (cf. Swed. *dunk*, n. "a dull sound," *dunka* "to produce a dull sound");[33] *Gularen* (a rounded hillock; cf. Swed. dial. *gŭla* "to holler, to roar");[34] *Dånebacken*, *Dånhallen*, *Döneliden*, *Dunnarestenen* (cf. ON *dynr*, m., OSwed. *dyn*, m. "a roaring or hollow sound," ON *dynja*, OSwed. *dynia* "to roar, to resound").[35] Place-names of the same nature are to be found in good numbers all over Scandinavia. The grounds of such name-giving vary, but generally the first elements refer to sounds produced on or in the stones, rocks, hills etc. Particularly concerning stones the sounds may be created by knocking on them or by rocking them (if they are in a labile position of equilibrium). Or gusts of wind may cause some kind of sound. Especially boundary stones invite to a nomenclature by which they are more or less personified. In one single parish in the province of Bohuslän in Sweden we find such names as *Grå hund* "the Gray Dog", *Hyndan* "the Bitch," *Grisen* "the Pig," *Suggan* "the Sow," *Grågåsen* "the Graylag," *Busen* "the Spook," *Häradsdomarn* "the Hundred's Ealdor," *Kallen* "the (Old) Man," *Nämndeman* "the Juryman,"

[31] *Sveriges ortnamn. Älvsborgs län* (hereafter abbreviated *SOÄ*), Vol. 2, p. 80; Vol. 17, p. 126 (in both cases with wrong interpretations); *OGB*, Vol. 18, pp. 201f. The last elements are *sten*, m. "a stone", *ås*, m. "a ridge."

[32] *OGB*, Vol. 9, p. 125.

[33] *SOÄ*, Vol. 9 : 1, pp. 267f.; *OGB*, Vol. 2, p. 149. The second elements are *hall*, m. (plur. *hallar*) "a slab of stone or rock" and *berg*, n. "a rocky hill."

[34] *OGB*, Vol. 18, p. 203. The name means "the roaring one."

[35] *SOÄ*, Vol. 1 : 2, p. 20; *OGB*, Vol. 10, p. 33; Vol. 4, p. 108; Vol. 16, pp. 166. The second elements not yet translated are *backe*, m. "a slope," *lid*, f. "a slope."

Tjocken "Fatty."[36] Of the same nature is the earlier mentioned *Gularen* "the roarer."

In the light of this type of nomenclature it seems natural to interpret *Dinnand* as an ON present participle *Dynjandi* "the roarer," whatever the specific reason for this particular name may be.

As to the phonetic form we may compare such river-names as *Skinnand* (*Schinende* 1086 DB, *Scinand*, *Skynant* in Hundred Rolls from the time of Henry III and Edward I) in Lincolnshire, and *Brennand* (*Brenand* 1324–5) in the West Riding of Yorkshire, which according to A. H. Smith, *English place-name elements*, Vol. 1, p. 11, and E. Ekwall, *English River-names*, p. 51, respectively, contain present participles.[37]

Clitherbeck

In Danby parish, Langbargh East wapentake, North Riding of Yorkshire, is the name *Clitherbeck* (*Clitherbec* 1273).

For the interpretation of this name *EPNS*, Vol. 5, p. 131, refers to *Clitheroe*, Whalley parish, Blackburn hundred, Lancashire, recorded as *Cliderhou* 1102–1332 (*passim*).

John Sephton, *A handbook of Lancashire place-names* (1913), pp. 92f., gave two alternative etymologies of the first element in *Clitheroe*, viz. some unknown dithematic personal name with *-here* as the second element or the Welsh word *clydwr* "a shelter." Neither suggestion is acceptable. – A. Goodall, *Place-names of south-west Yorkshire* (1914) assumed the last element *-oe* to be ON *haugr* in the meaning of "burial mound," but gives no explanation of the first element. – J. B. Johnston, *The place-names of England and Wales* (1915), p. 207, suggested that the first element is early Engl. dial. *clithers*, mod. dial. *clider*, for *clivers*, "goose-grass" and the second component OE *hōh* " a height."

E. Ekwall, *The place-names of Lancashire* (1922), p. 78, found the second element to be ON *haugr*, m. "a hill," but held that a definite etymology of the first element cannot be given. He continued: "Possibly we may compare dial. *clitter* 'a pile of loose stones or granite débris ...' Such an etymology would suit the case perfectly.

[36] *OGB*, Vol. 11, pp. 88, 90, 91, 92, 95, 98, 99.

[37] G. S. Streatfield, *Lincolnshire and the Danes* (London, 1884), p. 288, gives the impossible interpretation of *Skinnand* as a personal name.

The way on which the castle stands consists of loose limestone, which crumbles off to a great extent." He suggests that the same element possibly exists in *Clitherbeck*, since according to an information in *Yorkshire Inquisitions* there was in the 13th century a quarry at this place, and added: "The word *clitter* perhaps belongs to a root of onomatopoeic origin meaning "noise" or the like. If so it is probably cognate with OE *clidrenn* "a clatter, a noise," which agrees nearly in form with the first el. of *clitheroe*."

All these interpretations of the first element *Clither-* must, for various, mostly phonological, reasons, be declined. However, Ekwall changed opinion. Already in *Addenda et Corrigenda*, p. xlv, to *EPNS*, Vol. 5, it reads: "Professor Ekwall would prefer now to associate these names with Swed. dial. *klädra*, *klera*, "song-thrush," going back to earlier **kliðra*." Later, *Dict.*[3], p. 107, and *Meijerbergs arkiv för svensk ordforskning* 3 (1941), pp. 48f., he suggested that the first element also of *Clitheroe* is the same OScand. **kliðra*.

A. H. Smith, *English place-name elements*, Vol. 1, p. 101, postulates an OE **clȳder*, **clider* "loose stones, debris," "which may be related to OE *clidren* 'a clatter, a noise' in the same way as *clater* is to the verb *clatter*, but it may equally well be a derivation of *clūd*; it survives as D[evon] dial. *clider*, *clither* 'a pile of loose stones or granite debris'." He concludes by stating that there is no doubt about this meaning in *Clitheroe* and *Clitherbeck*, especially since there was a quarry at the place named by the latter name.

There is, in my opinion, hardly any doubt that the first element in *Clitherbeck* is the Scandinavian bird-name Swed. dial. *klädra*, *kledra*, *klera* etc., f. "a song-thrush" (also denoting other birds of the thrush-family);[38] Mod. Dan. *klire* "a thrash" (also some other birds);[39] North-Frisian *kleer*, f. "the redshank,"[40] *klēr*, m. "idem."[41]

[38] J. E. Rietz, *Svenskt dialekt-lexikon*, p. 331; Ernst Wigforss, *Södra Hallands folkmål*. p. 12; *Svenska Akademiens Ordbok*, Vol. 14, K. col. 1478.

[39] Falk-Torp, *Norwegisch-dänisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (1910), p. 534; *Ordbog over det danske Sprog*, Vol. 10, col. 612.

[40] Chrs. Johansen, *Die nordfriesische Sprache* (Kiel, 1862), p. 104; J. Schmidt-Petersen, *Wörterbuch und Sprachlehre der nordfriesischen Sprache* (Bredstedt, 1912), p. 71.

[41] P. Jensen, *Wörterbuch der nordfriesischen Sprache der Wiedingkarde* (Neumünster, 1927), col. 273. *Ordbok over det danske Sprog, loc. cit.*, adduces a North-Frisian variant *kliir*, which I have not been able to trace in the literature available to me.

The Scandinavian formes are consistent with derivation from OSwed. **klidhra*, f., ODan. **klithær*, f. This, like so many other names of birds, is an onomatopoetic word closely cognate with ON *kliðr*, m. "twittering, shriek (of birds); noise of voices,"[42] Mod. Icel. *kliður*, m. "chirping, song; noise of voices."[43] Probably related are also the Shetl. words *klir* and *kliri*, which are partly nicknames, partly taboo-names, sea-termes for "the cock."[44] The wide distribution of this onomatopoetic stem **kliðr-* must have a very old tradition in the Scandinavian languages, and it is, therefore, fully justified to assume that the bird-name **kliðra*, f., is old enough to have belonged to the vocabulary of those Vikings that emigrated to the British isles.[45]

In south-western Sweden, the borderline between the two provinces Västergötland and Småland follows a river that flows into the south end of Lake Vättern. The river is now called *Dummeån* (OSwed. *Dumn*, f. "the deep one"[46]), but it had earlier another name attached to a part of its course. Within a small area we find the two farms *Klerhult* (*Clerholt* 1546) and *Klerbo*, a wool mill *Klerfors*, and a mill *Klidhruqwærn* 1351, which is now lost but probably

[42] J. Fritzner, *Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog*, Vol. 2, p. 297; Leiv Heggstad, *Gamalnorsk ordbok med nynorsk tydning* (Oslo, 1930), p. 371.

[43] S. Blöndal, *Islandsk-dansk Ordbok*, p. 435.

[44] J. Jakobsen, *Det norrøne sprog på Shetland* (København, 1897), p. 88, and *An etymological dictionary of the Norn language in Shetland* (London, 1928), p. 432. In the former place *kliri* is considered a derivation from ON *kliðr*, m., but in the latter place it is alternatively suggested that *klir(i)* is a metathesized form of Shetl. *kriel* (cf. Mod. Icel. *kría*, f. "a tern"). Most likely the two words belong to two different onomatopoetic stems, but if they are related it seems equally plausible that *kriel* developed through metathesis from *klir(i)*. It is true that *ð* before *r* normally remains as *d(d)* in Mod. Shetlandish; cf. *flider*, *flidder* "to laugh foolishly; to talk sweetly" < **fiðra*, Norw. dial. *fiedra*; *hwider* "a sudden squall, a whirlwind," related to Mod. Icel. *hviðra* "to set in quick motion," Norw. dial. *kvidra* "to hurry to and fro" (Jacobsen, *Dict.*, pp. 182, 359, *Det norrøne sprog*, p. 133). But we have here to do with words that imitate sounds and, furthermore, are used as taboo-words. Such words do often not follow the regular phonetic laws.

[45] Further on the words here discussed and their etymology see E. Hellquist, *Om namn och titlar, slagord och svordomar* (Lund, 1918), pp. 102f.; Falk-Torp, *loc. cit.*; A. Torp, *Nynorsk etymologisk ordbok*, p. 285 (incorrectly giving the Old Norse forms as *kliðr* etc. with long vowel); A. Jóhannesson, *Isländisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 298; E. Wigforss, *Södra Hallands folkmål*, p. 12.

[46] I. Lundahl, *Namn och bygd*, Vol. 38 (1950), pp. 39ff. and the literature there cited.

was situated at the same place as the present *Klerfors*. According to *Sveriges Ortnamn*, *Älvsborgs län*, Vol. 7: 1, p. 117, the first element in *Klerhult* is the bird-name OSwed. **klidhra*, f., Swed. dial. *klera* etc. E. Hellquist, *Namn och bygd*, Vol. 11 (1923), pp. 34f., drew attention to the other locally and etymologically connected names just mentioned and maintained that the waterfall once had the name **Klidhra*, which, then, could easily be used of the stream on both sides of the waterfall. *Klidhra* denotes a shrill sort of sound, twittering or chirping or the like.[47] Hellquist held that this name was given because of the sound of the waterfall and referred to several river-names with the same signification, e. g. OSwed. **Hiæla* (cf. ON *hjala* "to talk, to prate"), OE *Twiteling* (cf. Engl. dial. *twittle* "to prate") and such Norwegian river-names as *Brumma*, *Garpa*, *Skratla*, *Skrika*, *Skvaldra*, *Sladra*, etc., which all have reference to the sound of the water.[48]

Named particularly after birds are such Norwegian river-names as *Elfta* (cf. ON *elptr*, f. "a swan"), *Fugla* (cf. ON *fugl*, m. "a bird"), *Gaasa* (cf. ON *gás*, f. "a goose"), *Igda* (cf. ON *igða*, f. "a sort of titmouse"), *Kraaka* (cf. ON *kráka*, f. "a crow"), *Svana* (cf. ON *svanr*, m. "a swan"), *Ugla* (cf. ON *ugla*, f. "an owl"), etc. Some of the place-names containing these words as the first element that are adduced under these bird-names by O. Rygh, *op. cit.* (*passim*), may refer to presence of the pertinent birds or contain personal nick-names identical with names of birds, but there are many irrefutable examples of rivers and waterfalls named after the sounds produced by these birds.

Clitherbeck is the name of one of the comparatively small rivers that flow from a high moor northwards into the river Esk. There is a drop of elevation from ca. 1400 to 400 feet within a distance of ca. four miles. *EPNS*, Vol. 5, p. 131, gives the information that it is a fast-flowing stream with a rocky bed. This is exactly the type of stream in which the water produces chirping, twittering sounds.

[47] E. Hellquist, *Svensk etymologisk ordbok*, *loc. cit.*, holds that the bird-name implies the existence of an onomatopoetic verb **klidhra*. In my opinion, this assumption is unnecessary. The bird-name may be a derivation directly from the imitative stem *kliðr-* without a corresponding verb.

[48] On these and other onomatopoetic river-names see, for instance, E. Hellquist, *Studier öfver de svenska sjönamnen*, Vol. 3, pp. 72f.; *De svenska ortnamnen på -by* (Göteborg, 1918), p. 47; O. Rygh, *Norske Elvenavne*, *passim*; A. Janzén, *Namn och bygd*, Vol. 23 (1935), pp. 5f., 17f., 36ff.

Clitheroe stands on a slope on both sides of a stream that flows from Pendle hill down to the river Ribble. There is within a distance of about three miles a drop in elevation from ca. 1830 feet to ca. 200 feet. It is, however, doubtful whether the stream once had a name containing the bird-name or if the place-name *Clitheroe* indicates presence of thrushes. The last element is ON *haugr*, m. "a hill," which makes it natural to compare the Swedish farm-name *Klerekull* (*Klerekuldt* 1603) in the province of Halland in the southernmost part of the country, containing the dial. *klera*, f. "a thrush" and *kull*, m. "a hill."[49] *Klerekull* stands also on a small stream, and thus it is uncertain whether the stream may have had a name containing the birdname or if the hill was named for the existence of the birds.

What definitely speaks in favor of the interpretation here given of the two English place-names *Clitherbeck* and *Clitheroe* is that both of them most certainly are originally Scandinavian names, corresponding to ON **Kliðrubekkr* and **Kliðruhaugr* respectively, and consequently should be interpreted with reference to Scandinavian, not English, vocabulary.

[49] E. Wigforss, *loc. cit.*; *Sveriges ortnamn, Hallands län*, Vol. 1, p. 78.

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Place Name Literature, United States and Alaska 1946–1951

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This list is a supplement to Sealock and Seely, *Bibliography of Place Name Literature*, published in 1948 by the American Library Association. A previous supplement, covering the years 1952–1954, was published in *Names* June 1955. A third supplement, covering the years 1955–1957, is in preparation. Readers are kindly requested to send additions and corrections to Pauline A. Seely, Public Library, Denver 3, Colorado, or Richard B. Sealock, Public Library, Kansas City 6, Missouri.

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The Public Library
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"Tom, Dick, and Harry"

ARCHER TAYLOR

THE PROVERBIAL PHRASE "Tom, Dick, and Harry," signifying anyone and everyone or, as the *New English Dictionary* says,[1] "any men taken at random from the common run" and usually implying a somewhat depreciatory estimate, is a traditional choice of familiarly used Christian names. A depreciatory flavor is perhaps more clearly perceived in the variant form "Every Tom, Dick, and Harry", which occurs in quots. 1939 and 1949 below and is familiar to me in colloquial use. This variation seems to be rather recent in origin. A more ingenious than convincing explanation of the phrase sees in it a reference to St. Thomas of Canterbury, Richard Cœur de Lion, and Henry V.[2] There is no evidence to support such a conjecture. These three men have little in common beyond having been, each in his own way and in his own time, conspicuous in English history. One cannot easily see why their names should have been combined and, more particularly, why their names, when taken together, should suggest men taken at random from the common run. Similar phrases have been traditionally used in English for four centuries and longer, but tradition has, as far as the available evidence goes, settled upon Tom, Dick, and Harry only within the last century and a half. Why this should be the case is obscure. It does not seem likely that the choice of these

[1] 12 v. and supplement, Oxford, 1884–1913. See "Tom," 1. This will be cited subsequently as NED. Other reference works will be similarly cited in an abbreviated fashion after the first reference to them. Eric Partridge, *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* (4th ed., London, [1951]), p. 895 cites his *Words, Words, Words!* (1933), which I have not seen. Various phrases of similar meaning in languages other than English will be found in *Notes and Queries*, 8th Ser., VI (1894), 243–244.

[2] *Notes and Queries*, CLI (1926), 460.

three historical figures can reflect an interpretation of English history current around 1800 that might have established itself in historical writing or might represent traditional notions of the past.

The following examples of "Tom, Dick, and Harry" and kindred phrases show the variations characteristic of proverbial use during the last four centuries":

> 1554 M. P. Tilley *A Dictionary of Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor, 1950) T 376 Quharefore to Colzearis, Cairtaris, and to Cukis – To Iok and Thome, my Ryme sall be diractit [i. e., directed]. 1597 NED: I am – sworn brother to a leash of Drawers, and can call them by their names, as Tom, Dicke, and Francis. 1606 NED: When Tom and Tib, were in their true delight, And he lou'd her, and she held him full deare. 1617 Ernest Weekley *Words and Names* (New York [1933]) 93 a sport at which *Jac* and *Tom*, *Dic*, *Hob*, and *Will* strive for the gay garland. 1622 Tilley: I neither care what Tom, or Iacke, or Dicke sed [i. e., said]. 1655 (ascribed to James I, 1604) Tilley: Then Jack, and Tom, and Will, and Dick shall meet and censure me and my Council. 1661 Tilley: Though Dick, and Tom and Jack, Will serve you and your pack. c1693 J. S. Farmer and W. E. Henley *Slang and Its Analogues* (7 v., [London] 1890–1904) VII 151. Offended to hear almost every gentleman call one another Jack, Tom and Harry? They first dropt the distinction proper to men of quality, and scoundrels took it up and bestowed it upon themselves. 1723 Farmer and Henley: Rivalling the critic's lofty style, Mere Tom and Dick are Stanhope and Argyll. 1782 *Benham's Book of Quotations* (new and rev. ed., London [1948]) 108a The man that hails you Tom or Jack, And proves by thumps upon your back How he esteems your merit. 1814 *Notes and Queries* 8th Ser., XI (1897) 487 Jack, Tom, and Harry have no existence in the eyes of the law, except as included in some form or other of the permanent prosperity of the realm. 1815 NED: So he hired Tom, Dick and Harry, and at it they all went. 1818 NED: Tom, Dick and Harry were not fit to censure them and their Council (this remark made by John Adams appears to be a reminiscence of King James's remark, quot. 1655 above). 1835 *An Account of Col. Crockett's Tour to the North and Down East*, etc. [Of uncertain authorship] 171

Loaned out to Tom, Dick, or Harry;[3] 1865 NED: Thereafter Tom, Jack and Harry; for every cab, carriage and omnibus . . . is now allowed to fall in. Second half of the nineteenth century James Main Dixon *Dictionary of Idiomatic English Phrases* (London 1906) 341 "But all are not preachers and captains in the Salvation Army?" "No, there is my cousin Dick. We are, very properly, Tom, Dick and Harry" (credited to Besant without more precise identification); If that girl isn't in love with you, she is something very like it. A girl does not pop over like that for Dick, Tom, and Harry (similarly credited to H. R. Haggard). 1891 NED: The only bears still extant are the Tom, Dick, and Harry of the Bourses. 1939 Burton E. Stevenson *The Home Book of Proverbs, Maxims and Familiar Phrases* (New York 1948) 2338: 1 We can't have every Tom, Dick and Harry throwing the damned thing in our teeth. 1949 E. S. Gardner *The D. A. Breaks an Egg* ch. 8 (Pocket Book 69) but I don't go out with every Tom, Dick, or Harry. 1949. H. R. Patch *On Re-reading Chaucer* (Cambridge, Mass. 1949) 257 Chaucer . . . loves the individual Tom and Dick and Harry. 1950 R. M. Gay *The Pacific Spectator* IV 93 Utopia . . . would come, if ever not by hating human nature but loving Tom, Dick and Harry.

In addition to these examples from print an oral traditional description of a young girl and an old maid at a dance will be a pertinent illustration of the phrase. The young girl moves her fan slowly while deciding which man is her choice and says meditatively, "Tom, Dick, or Har-ry?" The old maid moves her fan quickly, saying, "Anyone will do, anyone will do."

These examples show that "Tom, Dick, and Harry" has been slow in establishing itself as the standard manner of expressing this idea. They also suggest drawing another inference. Since the first example of this version (quot. 1815 above) is found in *The Farmer's Almanack* published at Boston, a popular book that cites proverbial materials of the most familiar quality, we infer that the phrase was then in common use. We can go on to infer that it is very probably an Americanism. This instance and the instance of 1818 (which is a

[3] Seven additional examples (down to 1869) and some parallels from contemporary writers will be found in the forthcoming *Dictionary of American Proverbs and Proberbial Phrases, 1820–1880* by Bartlett Jere Whiting and myself.

remark made by John Adams) as well as the free use of the phrase by nineteenth-century and later American writers support this inference. It is worthy of notice that John Adams seems to be recalling King James's remark and modifying it to suit his own idiom. Furthermore, the examples of the phrase as used by writers in England during the latter half of the nineteenth century show considerable variations among themselves. Although the phrase cannot be confidently called an Americanism until more evidence is available, all that we now know suggests that it is.

Any conjecture regarding the development of "Tom, Dick, and Harry" from earlier phrases must, in the nature of the case, be wholly a matter for speculation. To my ear its rhythm is preferable to "Tom, or Iacke, or Dicke" (quot. 1622) or "Jack, Tom, and Harry" (quots. c1693, 1814) as is also the succession of the vowels *o-i-a*, but whether others will feel the same way is by no means certain and such questions need not be explored. It is, in any case, curious that Jack, although found in various versions from 1554 to c1693 and sporadically thereafter, should have disappeared from the phrase. This fact suggests a last inference from the evidence. The actual frequency in use of names is difficult to discover. In interpreting these phrases knowledge of such frequency would require interpretation in the light of the social status of the men who bore them. Even if we had information about the frequency in use of these names and could interpret it, it would still be difficult to explain the virtual disappearance of Jack from a phrase signifying "men taken at random from the common run." Nor can I see any social or historical fact that would explain an obvious American preference for "Tom, Dick, and Harry." In any case it seems probable that this phrase and perhaps others like it do not reflect with complete accuracy the statistical frequency of Christian names at any particular time or in any particular place.[4]

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[4] Since this was written, one more example has come to my knowledge: 1864–65 Anthony Trollope *Can You Forgive Her?* (London, 1948) I 336 property which I could give to Tom, Dick, or Harry to-morrow. This seems to be the earliest instance of this version in England.

Notes on Humboldt County, California, Place Names of Indian Origin

KARL V. TEETER

1. *Town of Loleta.* Gudde, California Place Names p. 191, says, "In 1893 the residents, wishing a change, [from the name Swauger] accepted Mrs. Rufus F. Herrick's choice of the present name, which according to local tradition is an Indian word." Mrs. Herrick was a person who the Indians felt condescended to them, and they bore her little love in return. Desiring to rename the town, she asked a certain old Indian to tell her the Wiyot word for the place. The actual Wiyot Indian word is /katawóloˀt/, but he was not in the mood to give out this information, and answered instead /hóš wiwítak/ "Come on, let's go to bed!" (We paraphrase an unprintable word. The first word is an interjection "come on!" and the second is analyzable into the root wiw- "to have sexual intercourse" plus -it, a hortatory suffix, plus -ak, an emphatic suffix.) Presumably Mrs. Herrick knew enough of the language to know that /hóš/ was separate, and omitted the -k for euphony. Wiyot has a strong stress on the second syllable of the word, and the quality of the first i is obscured by contrast. The story is well authenticated by first hand observers, and there is little doubt that this is the correct etymology.

2. *Mattole River.* California Place Names, p. 208. This Mattole Indian word is pronounced by the Wiyot as [mæˀtoˑl], phonemically /meˀtuˑl/, and is a name with no etymology, according to an Indian of Bear River ancestry. The etymology suggested in California Place Names, "clear water," may be based on the Wiyot language, in which the word for "water" is /huˑl/, which changes initial h to t when appearing as the second element of a compound, according to a regular and common morphophonemic process. The initial part cannot be identified within Wiyot.

3. *Weott.* California Place Names, p. 386. Name of a town, population about 350, located on US Route #101 where the South

Fork of the Eel River branches off from the main stream (not within actual Wiyot Indian territory). Also the name, in the form Camp Weott, of a group of houses for seasonal vacations and fishing on the south side of the mouth of Eel River. This was washed out in the flood of late 1955. The word, /wíyoʔt/, is the name applied by the Indians to the Eel River, and also to the smaller Salt River, which branches off from the former at the mouth and flows down through Ferndale. It is not the name of the Indian group, who refer to themselves in their language as "those who live along the Eel River."

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Ajacan, the Algonkian Name for Hampton Roads, Virginia

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THERE IS LITTLE TO WARRANT concluding that Ajacan is a tribal country-name, – less for holding that it was an aboriginal name for Virginia. Cf. *The Spanish Jesuit Mission in Virginia, 1571 - 1572*, *Lewis and Loomie, The University of North Carolina Press, 1953*, and historians cited therein for both misconceptions. The authors of that book lean strongly to the idea that the term was the name of the specific tribal country of the Indian Don Luis.

Nowhere in Spanish narratives do we find him quoted directly, or indirectly, as so saying. He spoke Spanish und he is indirectly quoted as desiring to go to "la Provincia del Ajacan," to return to his land and people in that province, to get to Ajacan. But only a systematic mind, with little knowledge of the immediate apprehension of the primitive mind, would be likely to misconstrue what this Indian meant. Ajacan was near his native home.

We relied on the eminent Dr. James A. Geary for scientific verification of the literal. Spanish *Jacan* is phonetically *PA*shacan*: a general topographical term meaning "a crossing over water," the prefix "A-" most probably converting the general term into a specific name of a particular crossing-place. Primitives speaking agglutinate languages usually attach specific prefixes, or terminals, to be specific, seldom if ever using a general term as a name without doing so. Of course, there are exceptions to this.

In the 16th century Spanish oceanographers were convinced, from data on known ocean currents, that between Florida and the Straits of Anian (Northwest Passage) there must be a salt water

route from the Atlantic to the Pacific. They were certain they had proved the existence of such a crossing over, or by, water, through the North American land mass, scientifically. In the North Carolinat and Virginia Algonquian areas were strong, persistent beliefs that some river, ultimately emptying into the Atlantic through the Virginia capes, actually flowed from a Great Salt Sea to the west of the mountains. Scientific opinions of the time held that this was possible. Hundreds of miles of flowing would render salty sea-water wholly fresh again.

Thus one may be very certain that, the natives having no term niotistinguish between "crossing over," "crossing by," and "cross-gsnon" water, when they were picked up by Spanish mariners and cdnematically questioned as to where "a crossing by water," y oaecting with the Western Sea, joined the Atlantic they immedistely apprehended it was the well-known Ajacan, or "crossing over water," called today Hampton Roads, which the Spanish sought. No doubt the Spanish were told to sail north close to the coasts beyond the last island reefs and they could not miss Ajacan.

English narratives mention Indian travellers crossing here not only in canoes but with the aid of gourd water-wings. Travellers on foot north or south along the coasts had to "cross over the water" here, or stop, or detaour hundred of miles. That the Spanish first used Ajacan to refer to this specific water-crossing seems certain. They did so thus: "del Jacan, ques la baya de Santa Maria," -- in full, in English, "the crossing over water, which is (*the same as*, implicit in "ques") the Bay of Santa Maria." At the time they knew only the first harbor, or anchorage, within the capes, i. e., Hampton Roads of today. Spanish mariners so identified Ajacan as late as 1587.

As Spanish explorations expanded, they extended their original "baya de Santa Maria" to include the whole Chesapeake Bay as "la Bahia della Santa Maria;" and extended the specific name Ajacan to include all appurtenant coastal plains as "la Provincia del Ajacan." Such extensions of specific place-names, as witness California, and many others, was a Spanish trait and not an Algonquian or Powhatan one.

Clearly, Ajacan was the native name for Hampton Roads, Virginia.

Such a conclusion is etymologically sound. It is valid in relation to the cultural context of how the Spanish first learned it, conforms to what the Spanish originally understood it to be the name of, and, when related to all that is known about the Powhatan cultural context, appears culturally valid, too.

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Review

Onomastica. Pismo poświęcone nazewnictwu geograficznemu i osobowemu [A periodical devoted to geographical and personal naming]. Wrocław, Poland. (Volume I, 1955. Pp. 252. Volume II, nos. 1, 2, 1956. Pp. 440.)

THE GROWING INTEREST IN ONOMASTICS in post-war Poland, encouraged largely through the efforts of Witold Taszycki, has thus far produced seven major monographs.[1] Until 1955, however, there was no single outlet for any smaller works devoted to the science of names. To remedy the situation, the journal under review (the first of its kind in Poland) was founded. Under the general editorship of Taszycki (assisted by an editorial committee consisting of Rospond, Hrabec, Rudnicki, and Stieber), the periodical is to appear in yearly volumes of two fascicules – except for the first year (1955), when only one fascicule was issued.

Each fascicule consists of a section containing "Articles and Materials," one of "Reviews and Polemics," and a final section entitled "The State of Onomastic Studies." Judging by the items which have so far appeared in the last section, it is to be devoted to reports on

[1] Witold Taszycki, *Słowiańskie nazwy miejscowe (Ustalenie podziału)* [Slavic place names (An establishment of a classification)]. Cracow, 1946.

Jan Rozwadowski, *Studia nad nazwami wód słowiańskich* [Studies on Slavic water names]. A posthumous publication edited by Lehr-Spławiński and Safarewicz. Cracow, 1948.

Stefan Hrabec, *Nazwy geograficzne huculszczyzny* [Geographic terms of the Hucul area]. Cracow, 1950.

Witold Taszycki, *Patronimiczne nazwy miejscowe na Mazowszu* [Patronymic place names in Mazovia]. Cracow, 1951.

Mieczysław Karaś, *Nazwy miejscowe typu* Podgóra, Zalas, *w języku polskim i w innych językach słowiańskich* [Place names of the type *Podgóra, Zalas* in Polish and other Slavic languages]. Wrocław, 1955.

Halina Safarewiczowa, *Nazwy miejscowe typu* Mroczkowizna, Klimontowczyzna [Place names of the type *Mroczkowizna, Klimontowczyzna*]. Wrocław, 1956.

Karol Zierhoffer, *Nazwy miejscowe północnego Mazowsza* [Place names of northern Mazovia]. Wrocław, 1957.

work in progress,[2] reviews of onomastic studies in other countries (Trypućko has a fine historical account of Swedish work in II, 2, pp. 379–402; the first part of an account of Bulgarian work by Duridanov is included in the same issue, pp. 365–379), and bibliographies. Of considerable importance is a bibliography, by Zierhoffer, of onomastic work on Poland (1907–1944) which includes work written by Poles (whether it refers to Poland or not) in II, 1, pp. 181–209; II, 2, 402–429; with a promised continuation. Each fascicule is rounded off with French summaries and an index of terms.

Among the articles of greatest general interest one may note Taszycki's excellent review of what is known about the etymology and history of the name of the *Wawel* (the Polish equivalent of Westminster Abbey) in I, pp. 41–59, and Rospond's polemical article concerning the etymology of *Śląsk* (Silesia) and its derivates, also in I, pp. 7–40. He advances strong arguments against the etymology prevailing in German scholarship (connecting the term with Ptolemy's Σιλίγγαι) and in favor of that preferred by modern Polish scholars (who would derive it from the stem **sleng-* "wet, humid, slippery'" originally applied to bodies of water). Another item by Rospond worthy of note is the beginning of an historical and methodological article on Slavic onomastics in II, 2, pp. 217 to 248. Finally, no linguist should miss Kuryłowicz's thought-provoking considerations on "La position linguistique du nom propre" in II, 1, pp. 1–14. According to him, linguistic interest in proper nouns as a separate category begins when there are formal differentiae (flexional, accentual, or syntactic) distinguishing them from common nouns. Historically, these differentiae come into being when some formal change occurs in common nouns which does not spread to those common nouns which are simultaneously used to designate persons. At that moment the latter become a distinct

[2] Two important large-scale undertakings are reported on in I, pp. 193–211. In Cracow, a workshop under the direction of Taszycki is preparing a dictionary of medieval Polish personal names up to the year 1500 (the limiting date was established to coincide with the limits set for the *Old Polish Dictionary*). In Wrocław, Rospond is in charge of a similar dictionary of Silesian names from 1500 to the present. In both projects the preliminary work of collection and arrangement has been done and the enterprises have reached the editorial stage. In the near future, if all goes well, we can expect the first fascicules of dictionaries which will be major events in Polish onomatology.

linguistic category which 1) may remain archaic, unproductive or, 2) may become a productive device used for the creation of new proper nouns. Occasionally, successive chronological stages can even be distinguished as, e. g., in French, where one has both *Mercier* and *Lemercier* formally distinguished from *mercier* (*à Mercier*, *à Lemercier*, but *au mercier*). A particular feature of proper nouns is taken to be their often hypocoristic morphological process of formation, genetically connected with the diminutive in the common noun (*maison* : *maisonnette*, *Anne* : *Annette*). The hypocorism comes into being, historically, when the corresponding diminutive process undergoes an innovation. As a matter of principle, then, the historical explanation of a hypocoristic or patronymic formation is to be sought in attested (or reconstructed) diminutive formations. Kuryłowicz illustrates these (as well as other) theses with examples taken from several languages.

Polish scholarship is to be congratulated for the initiation of what, to judge by its first issues, is to be an important journal displaying a high level of scholarship. I can think of only one stricture: so far, only two articles have been published in French; there are no articles in any other Western-European language. Such a language policy, if continued, will only isolate an excellent periodical from the wider audience it deserves.

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Publications Received

Names has been receiving by exchange for some time the publications of several learned societies and other groups interested in the study of names; and it also receives for review separate publications in the field. In this section there will be acknowledged in each issue all such publications which have reached the editor since the date of the previous number. In this issue the journals regularly received are described and the files of each presently on hand are listed.

Onoma, Bibliographical and Information Bulletin, published by the International Committee of Onomastic Sciences, with the assistance of UNESCO, the Belgian Government, and the "Fondation Universitaire" (Belgium). International Center of Onomastics – "Instituut voor Naamkunde", Louvain, Belgium. Vol. 6, nos. 1, 2, 3, 1955–56.

Mededelingen van de Vereniging voor Naamkunde te Leuven en de Commissie voor Naamkunde te Amsterdam [Communications of the Society for Onomastics in Louvain and of the Commission for Onomastics in Amsterdam]. Published by the Bureau voor Naamkunde v. d. Kon. Nederl. Akademie v. Wetenschappen te Amsterdam [Office for Onomastics of the Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences in Amsterdam]. vol. 30, nos. 1–2, 3–4 (1954); vol. 31, no. 3–4 (1955); vol. 32, nos. 1, 2–3, 4 (1956); vol. 33, nos. 1, 2–3 (1957).

Beiträge zur Namenforschung, edited by Hans Krahe in collaboration with Ernst Dickenmann. Carl Winter, Heidelberg. Published three times a year. vol. 1, nos. 1, 2, 3 (1949–50); vol. 4, nos. 1, 2, 3 (1953); vol. 5, nos. 1, 2, 3 (1954); vol. 6, nos. 1, 2 (1955); vol. 7, nos. 1, 2, 3 (1956); vol. 8, nos. 1, 2, 3 (1957).

Namn och Bygd, Tidskrift för Nordisk Ortnamnsforskning [Name and Settlement, Journal for Scandinavian Place-Name Study], edited by Jöran Sahlgren. Uppsala and Copenhagen. 44th year, fascicles 1–4 (1956).

Geographical Review, published by The American Geographical Society of New York and edited by Wilma B. Fairchild. vol. 47, no. 1 (1957).

Scottish Studies, edited by J. Wreford Watson and published for the School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh. Published twice a year. Nos. 1 and 2, 1957.

Kentucky Folklore Record, published by the Kentucky Folklore Society and edited by D. K. Wilgus, Western Kentucky State College, Bowling Green, Kentucky. vol. 1, no. 4 (1955).

Names in South Carolina, published sporadically by the Department of English, University of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C. Vol. 2, 1955; vol. 3, 1956; vol. 4, 1957.

Bulletin Signalétique (formerly Bulletin Analytique), published quarterly under the auspices of the "Ministère de l'éducation nationale" by the "Centre national de la recherche scientifique." Issues devoted to "Philosophie" and the "Sciences Humaines." A bibliography of current periodical literature. vol. 8, nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 (1954); vol. 9, nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 and index number (1955); vol. 10, nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 and index number (1956); vol. 11, nos. 2, 3 (1957).

OTHER PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Bahlow, Dr. Hans, *Deutschlands Ortsnamen als Denkmäler der Vorzeit*, Hamburg, 1957. Privately printed.

De Armond, R. N., *Some Names Around Juneau*. Sitka, Alaska, 1957.

Linguistic Geographic and Toponymic Research[1]

RAVEN I. McDAVID, Jr.

THE STUDENT OF LINGUISTIC GEOGRAPHY and that of toponymics might well consider how they can cooperate with each other somewhat more effectively than they have done in the past. Basically, these disciplines are much alike. Neither is a pure science, but both are bridges through which many branches of learning are brought together for their mutual enrichment. Both of them draw on and contribute to the work of the social historian, the student of population origins and distributions and movements, the geographer (physical, economic, political, and cultural), the historical linguist, the structural linguist, and the like. Like almost every other discipline, only more so, these fields can be most effectively exploited by the investigator working with the materials in the field, obtaining the data from live informants and writing down the responses on the spot. Naturally, working conditions sometimes do not approach the ideal, especially when one is dealing with the geographical distribution of linguistic forms – whether verb inflections or place-name elements – at some time in the past. Under these circumstances the only evidence available may be documentary: interlinear glosses, charters, deeds, or maps. But as indispensable as documentary evidence may be under these conditions, or as helpful as it can be as supplementary evidence when an investigation is conducted in the field, the investigator should not stop with the documents when he has other ways of getting at the evidence. One smiles rightly at the attitude of one of the county officials in Georgia when I was doing the field work for the Linguistic Atlas in 1947. This functionary insisted that I need only read *Gone with the Wind* to discover what Georgia speech was actually like; and it took half

[1] Presented at the meeting of the American Name Society in Washington, D. C., December, 1956.

an hour of my most patient explaining to make the point that Margaret Mitchell's knowledge of southern speech and culture, though undoubtedly broad, detailed, and generally accurate, was neither encyclopedic nor infallible. Yet students of dialect have sometimes tried to use novels as primary sources, and students of place names have sometimes contented themselves with the scented nomenclature of a Chamber of Commerce map, to the neglect of the more vigorous, if often less easily printable, names actually used by the public.

Furthermore, the cultural situation in the United States – one by which cultural borrowing may operate at a distance, through such intermediaries as the newspaper, the returned war veteran, the tourist, or simply the reader of novels or history – introduces complications beyond the experience of the more stable rural areas in Europe. On the one hand, *piazza* as an architectural term was introduced into England by the architects of Covent Garden, was transferred to the columned porches of Georgian houses in eastern New England, Chesapeake Bay, and the South Atlantic coast, and has become a folk synonym for porch as far west as the Mohawk Valley in New York and the Appalachian foothills in the Carolinas and Georgia,[2] and new architectural fashions have established *patios* in areas far removed from any contact with Spain or Spanish colonies. On the other, the map of the United States is liberally sprinkled with Romes and Troys, with Jalapas (/jùwlǽpə/ in South Carolina) and Buena Vistas (normally /byùwnə ~ vístə/), and even an occasional Sans Souci.

The investigation of linguistic geography or place-name distribution may serve so many purposes that the planners of such a project have the problem of limiting themselves to certain attainable objectives. In theory, at least, a project in either field is almost unlimited in its scope: the investigator of place-names would like to record all such names, and all pertinent information about them; the investigator of dialects would like to have evidence on the complete phonemic system (with occurrences of every phoneme in every possible phonemic context), a full inventory of all grammatical forms in everyday use, and a nearly complete vocabulary of the everyday language, including all the usual meanings of all the

[2] Hans Kurath, *A Word Geography of the Eastern United States*. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1949. P. 45; fig. 35, 43.

words. In practice, however, the investigator must settle for something less than the ideal; even the most abundantly endowed university or foundation has limits to the funds it can place at the disposal of a particular project. Competent investigators are scarce, and have many other demands on their time; and even the most cooperative and talkative informant ultimately finds his information and his patience exhausted. The annals of research bear witness to the numerous ambitious projects that broke down because they attempted too much. Two such projects were begun in Italy: the 1947 project to revise the toponymic map of the republic by including every place name, no matter how trivial, still seems far from realization; earlier (1928–43) there were nationalistically-inspired plans for a natively organized linguistic survey to put to shame the Atlas of Jaberg and Jud by employing a finer graded network (1000 communities) and a larger questionnaire (over 7000 items) than the Swiss dialectologists had used, but they collapsed upon the death of the field investigator, Hugo Pellis, with less than two-thirds of the peninsula covered.

Consequently, the interrelationships between linguistic geography and toponymic research may be limited in a particular instance by the restrictions each investigator imposes upon the scope of his project. For some particular projects the interrelationships may be very tenuous. For instance, an inquiry limited to regional distinctions in intonation patterns and terminal junctures may derive little assistance from an investigation into the names of county seats and market places, even if (as rarely happens) the investigator of place-names faithfully records pronunciation. Nevertheless, other types of phonological investigations could be aided by an accurate record of a number of place names, since such names often expand the corpus of contexts in which particular vowels and consonants may occur.

More practicable, however, for testing the relationships of these two disciplines is the assumption of neither exhaustive nor narrowly restricted projects, but rather general investigations of selected phenomena, the examination of major place names in a restricted area on the scale they would be included in, say, the Merriam-Webster *Geographical Dictionary* and a general preliminary survey of dialects, like one of the regional surveys in the American Linguistic Atlas project. And instead of listing each discipline's contri-

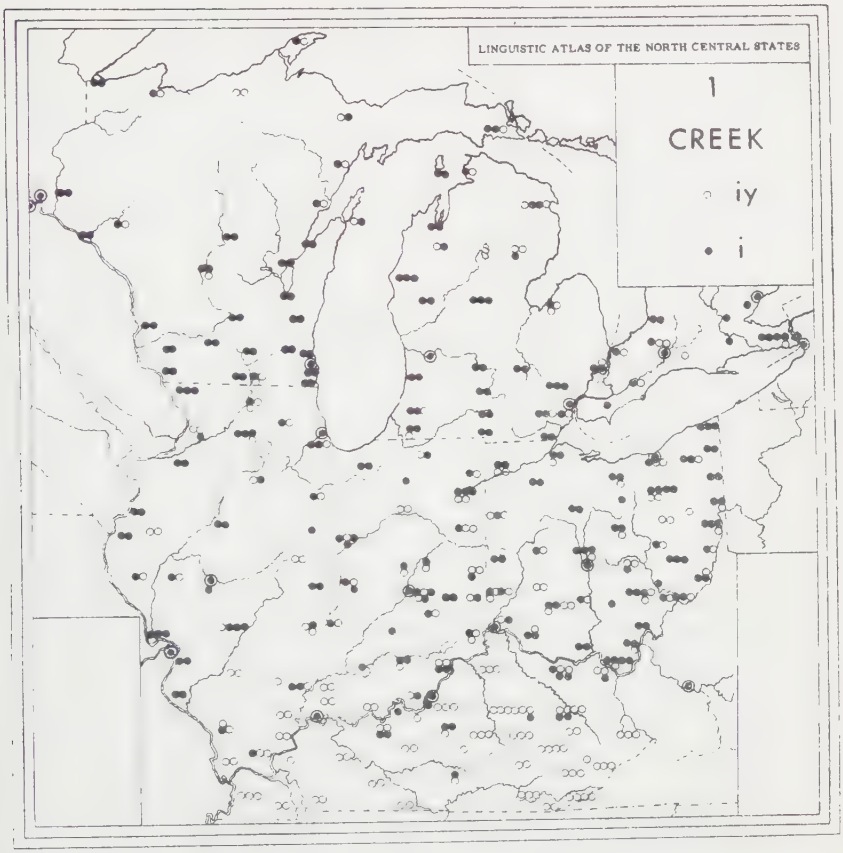
butions to the other, it is more fruitful to examine several types of linguistic phenomena to demonstrate how for each type the evidence derived from one discipline is related to the work of the other. We must make only one fundamental preliminary observation: the data of the linguistic geographer can usually be analyzed in detail for regional and social distribution, while the work of the place-name investigator cannot; on the other hand, the place-name investigator, like Raup in his study of the generics of Ohio stream names,[3] may bring to the immediate problem a mass of detailed evidence on a restricted number of items, so as to provide the answers to questions the linguistic geographer can only pose.

For phonology, the contribution of the place-name investigator to linguistic geography is somewhat restricted. Even where the pronunciation is faithfully recorded, the place-name study can rarely contribute much by way of phonetic detail on the pronunciation of the various phonemes in various contexts. More often, even a very broad notation of pronunciation will give important evidence as to the incidence of particular phonemes and the structure of the phonemic system in a particular dialect. Even conventional spelling of place names can be useful; true, it will conceal such regionally significant distributions as /krík/ and /kríyk/ for pronunciations of *creek* in the Middle West (see Map 1), but it may suggest the kinds of consonant clusters that occur or adduce the critical environment on which a structural statement depends.

As an example of the value of place-name evidence for structural statements, we may summarize one part of the discussion at the 1956 Texas conference on problems in English phonology.[4] Among the participants in the conference were several speakers of Southern and South Midland dialects who for some time had questioned whether all the phonological contrasts in their region could be handled by the Trager-Smith analysis of nine vowels and three semivowels (/y, w, h/, representing respectively an offglide toward high-front position, an offglide toward high-back position, and either length or an offglide toward mid-central position). In particular, it was suggested that certain dialects might have the length factor and the centering off-glide in contrast; and evidence of this con-

[3] H. F. Raup, "The Names of Ohio's Streams," *Names* 5. 162–168 (1957).

[4] To be published in 1958.



trast was offered from the dialect of Atlanta, Georgia. However most of the words in which the length factor occurred revealed it in the sequence [æ·v] as in the common nouns *salve*, *valve*, and the surnames *Cavan* and *Davin*; and in the Atlanta dialect no one could find an example of /æw/ (as in the Atlanta pronunciation of *house*) before /v/. Thus there were grounds for insisting that the phonetic sequence [æ·v] might be interpreted phonemically as [æwv]. However, the place-name *Lowville* (county seat of Lewis County, New York) was sufficient to overcome the objection, since it would normally be pronounced /lǽwvəl/ in Atlanta as well as in the Adirondacks.

In many other ways phonological evidence may be supplied by place names. In the superfixes, the patterns of stresses and internal

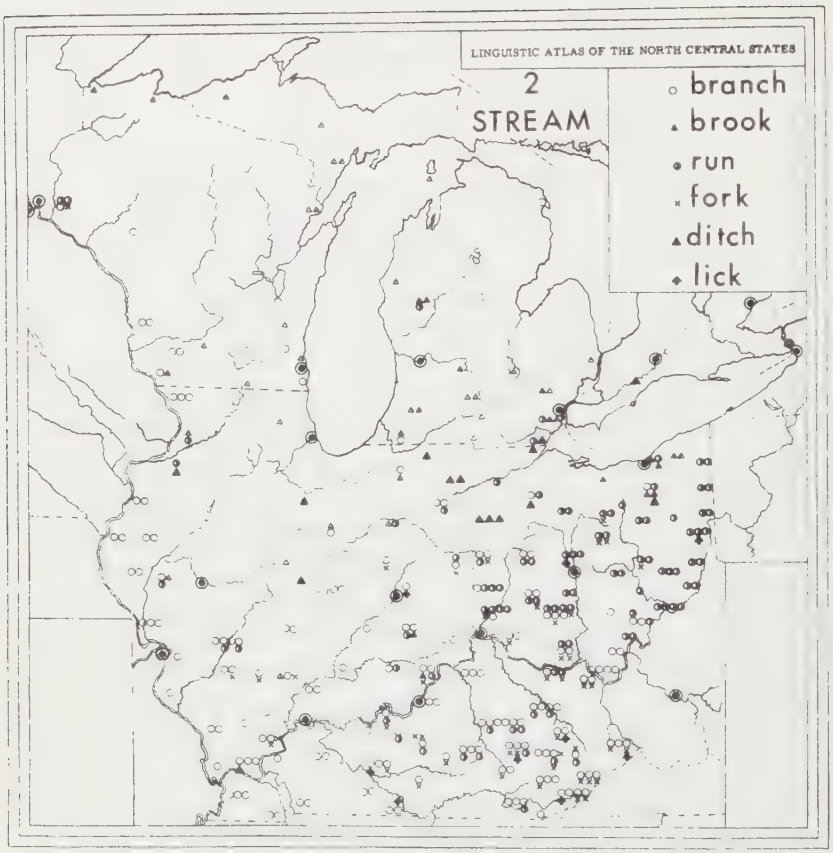
junctures, there may be evidence from the word division of names; for instance, *Pee Dee*, the official spelling of the Board of Geographic Names (not the spelling preferred by South Carolinians, I hasten to add), undoubtedly reflects the local pronunciations of the type /píy + dîy/, with the word division representing the internal juncture. And in general, synchronic evidence from phonology may supply clues for place-name etymologies, which in turn will supply evidence for phonological history.

There is relatively little that toponymic research can contribute to the study of grammar, and most of that is concerned with the problems of place-name syntax. These problems are overtly concerned with the relative position of the generic and the specific, covertly with the patterns of stress and juncture. But overtly or covertly they lead ultimately to interesting facets of cultural history. *River*, for instance, nearly always follows the specific, as in *Santee River* and *Fraser River*; in the neighborhood of Detroit, however, *River Rouge* and *River Raisin* testify to the period of French sovereignty. In southern Louisiana, the stream designations *bayou* and *coulée* (both proximately, the latter ultimately as well, of French derivation) regularly precede the specific; in other parts of former French territory, however, the order has been Anglicized, as in the community name *Mound Bayou*, Mississippi, the streams *Cypress Bayou*, *Plum Bayou*, and *Bakers Bayou* in Arkansas, and *Nezpique Bayou* in western Louisiana. *Lake* may precede or follow, the former being slightly more likely in territories once controlled by France. But we have among large lakes *Great Salt Lake* and *Lake Superior*; among small artificial lakes in the Carolinas, *Stone's Lake* and *Lake Summit*; among lowland lakes in southern Louisiana, *Lake Pontchartrain* near New Orleans and *Calcasieu Lake* to the west, near the city of *Lake Charles*. There is some evidence that the antecedent generic is becoming slightly more fashionable than the following one. A small lake in western North Carolina, in resort country, was known as *Kanuga Lake* forty years ago, now more commonly as *Lake Kanuga*; and perhaps a majority of the large artificial lakes created for irrigation and power developments follow the same pattern – *Lake Mead*, above Hoover Dam (sometime Boulder Dam) on the Colorado; *Lake Murray*, *Lake Marion*, and *Lake Moultrie* in South Carolina. Yet to this trend the area of the Tennessee Valley Authority is an exception, with *Kentucky Lake*,

Pickwick Lake, *Norris Lake*, and *Hiwassee Lake*, to mention a few. Are these differences matters of chance, or are there underlying cultural forces which the linguistic geographer and the toponymist might discover?

Most of the relationships between linguistic geography and toponymic research, however, concern the vocabulary. Among stream names there is the problem of number and rank in the hierarchy of stream sizes in an area; some regions distinguish only the *river* and the *creek*; others the *river*, the *creek*, and the *branch* (or some semantic equivalent for a small stream); still others may have a hierarchy of four or five sizes. Where there are three or more sizes, it is not to be assumed that the name of each type will appear with equal frequency as a common noun and as an element in place names: *branch* and *brook*, for instance, are widely known as general terms, but local informants often have difficulty naming a single specific stream of this size; *kill*, in the old Holland Dutch settlements in New York and New Jersey, is fairly common in place-names but almost never occurs as a separate word (nor does the place-name element *pol* "tidal marsh," as in *Canarsie Pol*); *run* occurs both as a common noun and as an element in place names, but more commonly as the latter. There may be clear regional distinctions in the distribution of these elements, as we find both along the Atlantic Seaboard and in the North Central States (see Map 2). *Brook* is largely confined to the New England settlement area; *run* is a North Midland term, with some occurrences in Virginia, which has been taken down the Ohio Valley from Pittsburgh as far as the neighborhood of Louisville: *branch* is characteristically Southern and South Midland. Terms largely restricted to the North Central area are *ditch*, as a designation for a running stream in flatlands, whether reclaimed marsh or prairie; *lick*, principally in the Ohio Valley between the Big Sandy and the Salt; *fork*, mostly in the knobs and mountains of Kentucky. Moreover, there is a striking correlation between the southern limits of the lexical form *run* and those of the pronunciation /krík/, not surprising to one who knows that both of these items are characteristic of the North Midland as opposed to South and South Midland.

Similarly, there are significant regional differences in the names for elevated points. Probably in most parts of the eastern United States, people are content with two terms, *mountain* and *hill*, ex-



cept for occasional local features of striking shape. In much of Kentucky, however, there is an intermediate size, the *knob*. In more broken terrain, as in western North Carolina or the Rockies, there are more specialized terms for particular shapes: *bald*, *dome*, *peak*, *pinnacle*, *butte*, *mesa*. Needless to say, the significance of each of these terms depends to some extent on the character of the surrounding terrain; *Little Mountain*, near Columbia, South Carolina, would be a very modest hill in the Blue Ridge and unnoticed in the Rockies.

When we go from generic terms to specific names we have rich sources for studying linguistic relationships of various tribal or nationality groups. Sometimes we have hidden generics in specific names: the *lac* in *Lake Mille Lacs* (Minnesota), the *bogue* in *Bogue*

Falia River (Mississippi), the *kill* in *Fishkill* Creek (New York), or *Brook Run* outside Richmond, Virginia; in fact, *Mississippi* itself simply means Big River, and *Michigan* Big Lake. But as a language dies out in a locality, place-names from it cease to have meaningful significance in themselves, and become merely sequences of phonemes designating particular places or things.

Finally, problems of semantics of origin may bring together the linguistic geographer, the toponymist, and the local historian for their mutual benefit. In northern West Virginia, a hypothetical **Spider Creek* would almost certainly owe its name to associations with arachnids; in the Adirondacks or near the Dismal Swamp, however, it might have some association with a frying pan. Or conversely, if **Whippletree Pass* should appear on an old travel map through the Rockies, almost certainly there were some in the original party of explorers and surveyors. In short, then, the linguistic geographer and the toponymist have many common areas or interest. They often work with different kinds of material, with differing degrees oft intensity, and toward different goals; it would be foolish to ask one to do the other's work. Nevertheless, each would do well to recognize the other's field as a legitimate scholarly discipline, and be ready to utilize the answers obtained in one field as an aid toward solving the problems of the other.

University of Chicago

Distribution Patterns of Place-Name Pronunciations[1]

HAROLD B. ALLEN

This article will support an obvious generalization with new evidence. It will pinpoint the general knowledge possessed by every traveler who has gone from here to there – from [teksen] to [tusán] "Tucson," from [lə ǰálə] to [la hɔyə] "La Jolla," from [piɛ́r] to [pir] "Pierre," South Dakota, from [bítrəs] to [biǽtrəs] "Beatrice," Nebraska, from [bɔɪz] to [bɔɪzi] "Boise," Idaho, or from [mǽkənæk] to [mækənɔ] "Mackinac" Island, Michigan. It is simply the general knowledge that local residents constitute their own supreme court in determining the pronunciation of their own community, and that as a traveler approaches that community he finds learned pronunciations and spelling pronunciations giving way in the face of the ineluctable force of the native speech.

Evidence for this pinpointing is taken from the field records of the The Linguistic Atlas of the Upper Midwest, one of the independent but correlated projects within the framework of the The Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada. It includes Minnesota, Iowa, both Dakotas, and Nebraska. The records were made in close phonetic transcription by trained fieldworkers, who in these five states interviewed 208 selected informants who were lifelong residents of their communities. These informants fall into three groups: Type I, old-fashioned with no more than 8th grade schooling; Type II, middle-aged with high school training; Type III, forty-ish with college education obtained within the state.

For a number of reasons, as the accompanying list indicates, a number of place-names were included among the 807 items in the fieldworker's questionnaire. A few of these provide evidence indicating a consistency in the variation of place-name pronunciation distinctions.

[1] This article is based upon a paper read before the American Name Society in Madison, Wisconsin, September 10, 1957.

One important Upper Midwest city provides a typical example – Des Moines, Iowa. Chart 1 shows that 96% of the informants interviewed in Iowa use the form without the terminal sibilant, a pronunciation surely derived from the original French. In Nebraska the proportion is somewhat less, 83%; and it is still less in the Dakotas. Minnesota, with little influx of Iowa population, shows still weaker Iowa effect and much stronger influence of spelling pronunciation. Two-thirds of the Minnesotans use the pronunciation [də móynz] and only one-third that without the final [-z]. Once only, and that in the speech of a Canadian informant farthest of all informants from Iowa, did I hear the full spelling pronunciation [des móynz].

Omaha, Nebraska, provides a similar pattern. The several variant spoken forms of this place-name reveal a range for the final vowel from no liprounding and low central position to full rounding and higher low back position, that is, from [a] to [ɔ], with the intermediate [ɑ] and [ɒ] also occurring. It is the full rounded [ɔ] which reveals a consistent pattern. Omaha, it may be observed, is the trade center for western Iowa and nearly all of Nebraska. In these two states 45 and 39% of the informants, respectively, use the full rounded [ɔ]. If Omaha were spelled Omahaw, probably this pronunciation would be common elsewhere, too, for it would suggest more readily the rounded vowel. (Compare pronunciations of Pawpaw, Kenesaw, Choctaw, etc.) But the final single *a* leads to a spelling pronunciation with [a] or [ɑ] so common that competing [ɔ] has an incidence of only 16% in South Dakota and 12.5% in North Dakota. Because the item was added late during the fieldwork in Minnesota, the evidence there is meager. Only six informants in or near the Twin Cities were asked for the term; not one uses [ɔ].

Comparable evidence is found in the data for several names of places or areas close to the Upper Midwest. Chicago is an example, although here particularly the recourse to percentages is necessary to reveal the pattern. No drawing of isophones upon a map can show this gradual distribution. In Iowa, closest Upper Midwest state to Chicago, 78% of the informants use the low back rounded [ɔ] in the stressed syllable instead of the unround low central [a]. But the spelling pronunciation with [a] is more frequent where the Illinois influence is more distant; only 58% of the Minnesota informants, for example, use the rounded form as in [šɪkógo].

The name of the state itself offers another case in point. It is well known that two pronunciations exist for Illinois, one with and one without the final [-z]. Cabell Greet in his *World Words* lists both without comment; Kenyon and Knott in their *Pronouncing Dictionary of American English* remark that [ɪlənɔ́ɪz] is not infrequent generally but is especially common in the South. The Upper Midwest data offer additional light. In Iowa, separated from Illinois only by the Mississippi river and close culturally and ethnically likewise, 90% of the informants use the traditional and historical [ɪlənɔɪ]. But farther away the French derived final *-s* is accorded value as a sound symbol, so that in North Dakota, for instance, only 62% of the informants use the historical pronunciation; the rest follow the spelling with [ɪlənɔ́ɪz].

But just as Grimm's law has its necessary footnote in Verner's law, so the generalization stated at the beginning of this paper has its exceptions to be explained by another principle. The influential element of distance may be counteracted by a prestige factor, as with the name Missouri. In *World Words* Greet says: "*American Speech* once printed an article of 17 pages on the pronunciation of this name. My impression is that three out of four Missourians" favor the pronunciation [mɪzúrə] but that the fourth preferring [mɪzúri] regards it as socially superior. This estimate is now borne out by Upper Midwest evidence. In Iowa, contiguous with Missouri, 65% prefer the [mɪzúre] form, and in Nebraska, also a neighbor, 58% prefer it. Farther away in Dakotas, as one would expect according to the basic principle, the spelling pronunciation has won out; [mɪzúrə] drops to 21% in North Dakota and 17% in Minnesota. But if the returns are analyzed in terms of the types of informants, then a significant contrast shows up. Although three out of four educated Iowans favor [-ə], the college graduates generally in these five states prefer the prestigious form with [-ɪ], the proportion being 64% even with Iowa included.

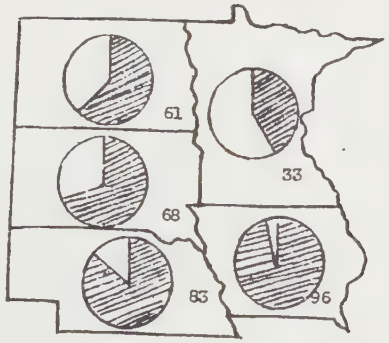
A prestige factor operates also with the form [áɪəwə]. The historical form is [áɪəwe], but this pronunciation is now looked upon by many as old-fashioned and rural. It is retreating even in Iowa itself, where this attitude is re-enforced by pressure from the schools. Whereas 54% of the oldest generation informants still use [áɪəwe], only 15% of the high school graduates use it, and none of the college graduates (except, presumably, when they sing the state

song!). Similarly in Nebraska, next to Iowa. In South Dakota the older relationship is better preserved, with a much higher proportion favoring the historical form. But in Minnesota, never greatly influenced by Iowa speech, the spelling pronunciation is preferred by all three types of informants, although here, as in the other states, the uneducated informants do show a higher proportion favoring [áɪəwe]. Since no members of the younger generation are reported as using this form, it would seem safe to predict its disappearance within the next two generations.

The evidence in this article, though not startling, may help to confirm beliefs about the reasons for the changing of form of place-names and hence may be of value in the reconstruction of earlier forms. Additional evidence, as yet not analyzed, lies in the data for other place-names recorded by field investigators for the various American regional atlases.

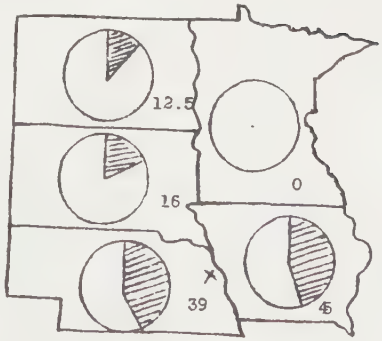
University of Minnesota.

1. Des Moines [dɪ móɪn], not with [-z]

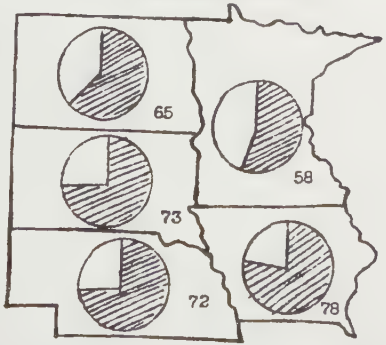


Figures represent percentages

2. Omaha [ómәhɔ], not [-a]

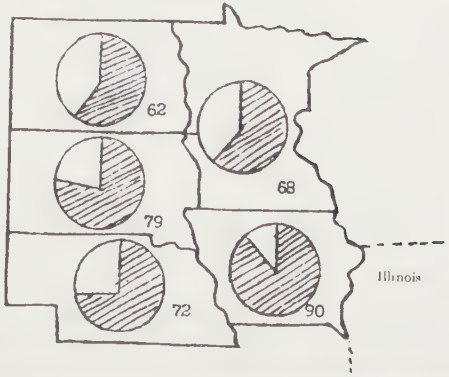


3. Chicago [šɪkógo], not [šɪkágo]



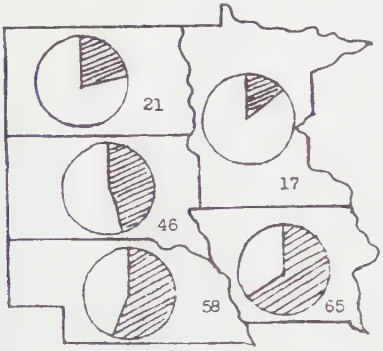
Chicago

4. Illinois [ɪlənóɪ], not [-z]

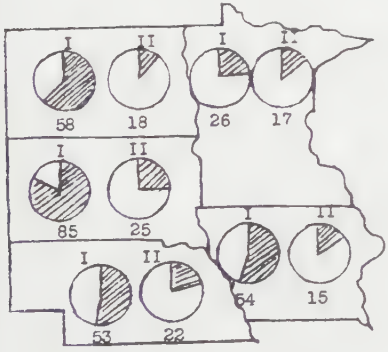


LAUM -- PLACE-NAME PRONUNCIATIONS

5. Missouri [ɔ], not [ɑ].



6. Iowa [á ɪowɛ], not [á ɪowə]



Place-names phonetically transcribed during fieldwork for the Linguistic Atlas of the Upper Midwest:

Michigan
Illinois
Ohio
Dakota
New York
Pennsylvania
Iowa
Minnesota
Wisconsin
Canada
Nebraska
Missouri
Chicago
St. Paul
Des Moines
Detroit
Duluth
Omaha
Minneapolis
Washington

the informant's own community (also names of rivers and streams within a few miles of the informant's community)

Projection in Topographic Names

ROBERT PLANK

Topographical names may be derived from a physical peculiarity of the feature to be named, such as its color, shape, size, location (Blue Ridge, Long Island, Grand Canyon, Lake Superior), or else the name may have no such base whatever but may serve to perpetuate the memory of an individual, an event, or an idea – be it arbitrarily or because of a historic connection (Mt. Washington, Lake Erie, Hudson River). In South Dakota, for instance,

> when it comes to classification of peak names, the largest group, 17 out of 48, is composed of those named for individuals . . . The second largest group represents those names which are descriptive of the peaks they identify, six in number, such as Twin and Baldy Peaks.[1]

It is the latter type of name that interests us here.

If we examine the "descriptive" names, we find that the nature of the mental processes which entered into the act of "describing" may differ greatly. At the one extreme, we have the purely *descriptive* names, i.e. those that consist simply in naming the characteristic quality of an object: To call a body of water "Blue Lake" or a chain of peaks "Rocky Mountains" is merely to state a factual observation in the simplest and most direct terms: the lake is blue, the mountains are rocky.

Other names imply a comparison. "Fallen Leaf Lake" (because the lake is shaped like a leaf) states a physical quality but not simply descriptively. These names might be called *descriptive-projective* or *comparational*. At the other extreme we have the descriptive element forced into a secondary place in favor of a more imaginative and less obvious comparison – in names like "the Rabbit Ears" or "Bridal Falls": the *projective* names.

[1] South Dakota Writers Project, *South Dakota Place Names*, Vermillion, S. D.: Univ. of S. D., 1941, p. 405.

The word "projective," as used here, is borrowed from psychology (rather than from psychiatry, where it carries a different meaning). The present use of the term was established by Frank[2] a decade ago. Projection has been said to consist in giving meaning to "a stimulus situation which has no inherent compelling organization;"[3] or to be the "externalized expression of one's private inner world through selective perception and organization of the surrounding world."[4]

Psychology has had occasion to study both spontaneous and solicited projection. The former, also known as pareidolia,[5] is the one that most people have experienced. The essence of the phenomenon is that an impression is endowed by the imaginative viewer with a meaningful structure which it does not in itself possess. A person may see figures, faces, animals, etc., in clouds, smoke, flames, mottled walls.

Hamlet taunting Polonius with the different animals that a cloud may be said to look like[6] is the most famous example of projection in literature. Leonardo's notes on what he could see in the spots and cracks of walls[7] is a celebrated instance in the history of art. Man's proclivity to engage in spontaneous projection is the formative principle that accounts for descriptive-projective and projective names of topographic features.

Solicited projection, in which the individual is asked to project onto an unstructured impression has long been used in various types of magic and divination, such as molybdomancy[8] and lekanomancy.[9] These are not widely known, but the crystal ball that shows vague reflexions from which the future is told, has become proverbial.

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[2] Lawrence K. Frank, *Projective Methods*, Springfield, Ill.: C. C. Thomas, 1948.

[3] M. Jahoda, M. Deutsch, and S. W. Cook, *Research Methods in Social Relations*, New York: Dryden, 1951.

[4] R. Schafer, *Psychoanalytic Interpretation in Rorschach Testing*, New York; Grune & Stratton, 1954.

[5] K. Jaspers, *Allgemeine Psychopathologie*, Berlin: J. Springer, 1913; and following him, Siegfried Fischer, *Principles of General Psychopathology*, New York: Philosophical Library, 1950.

[6] Act III, scene II.

[7] Leonardo da Vinci, *Treatise on Painting*, Princeton: P. Univ. Press, 1956.

[8] Interpretation of the forms which molten lead assumes when poured into water; cf. R. Plank, *Spontaneous Projection of Meaningful Forms*, J. of Projective Techniques, 21, 2 (1957).

At least one commercial game has been based on solicited projection.[10] A German poet, Justinus Kerner, studied the art of projecting onto ink blots, had some of his projections sold at charitable bazaars, and seems to have arrived at the opinion that ghosts manifested themselves in his blots.[11] The Swiss psychiatrist Rorschach, possibly stimulated by Kerner's book, developed the ink blot test into an instrument of diagnosing personality features from the individual's distinctive way of projecting onto standardized blots. This – now known as *Rorschach Test* the world over – with many other projective tests which were developed later, forms an essential part of the armamentarium of scientific psychology.

There would be no solicited projection, hence no projective tests, if there were not a virtually universal readiness to respond to such solicitation. Psychology is therefore interested in spontaneaous projection, and a study that can help towards understanding it – which the study of topographic names can – becomes a contribution to psychology. This science in turn can provide us with instruments for the study of names. The assistance is mutual.

The circumstances which favor the creation of projective names in topography are different from those that lead to the projections which, documented in autobiographies, poetry, and historical anecdotes, form the bulk of the material on which psychology has been able to study spontaneous projection. The latter type is what we might call private. They depend on a rather unstructured stimulus and on the disposition of the projecting individual. In Hamlet goading Polonius into finding a cloud resembling a camel, a weasel, and a whale, we have the classical combination of a fleeting stimulus which yet has the power of intruding into the field of vision, and of an unusually imaginative individual. When we deal with that projection, however, which leads to the naming of topographic features, both conditions are reversed: The stimulus is permanent and unchanging; and the individual's imaginative power counts for little, since the name can only be established by consensus: that is to say, only a projection which can be repeated by many, if not by the great majority of viewers is capable of developing into a topographic name.

[9] Interpretation of the reflexions of flickering light in bowls of water; cf. H. Silberer, *Lekanomantische Versuche*, Zentralblatt f. Psychoanalyse 2 (1912).

We would therefore expect that in contrast to the typical operation of private projection, topographic features obtain projective names only if they have striking characteristics. This expectation is fulfilled by the observation that mountains and rock formations, and especially those which stand out by themselves and are singled out by a memorable or even bizarre form, acquire projective names, while other features do not.

> The landscape of the Dead Sea wilderness is monotonous, subduing and dreadful. This country is completely impersonal. It is a landscape without physiognomy: no faces of gods or men, no bodies of recumbent animals, are suggested by the shape of the hills. "Nothing but monotheism could possibly come out of this," said one of my companions, who knew Palestine well. "There's no crevice for a nymph anywhere."[12]

Projective names are rare in England;[13] a little more frequent in more mountainous California where we find such designations as Arrowhead, Funeral Mountain, Homer's Nose;[14] fairly common among the higher peaks of the Adirondacks: Out of 46 recorded names for summits of above 4,000 feet, eight are comparational or projective: Haystack, Gothics, Nipple Top, Saddleback, Table Top, Upper Wolf Jaw, Lower Wolf Jaw, Sawteeth.[15]

Not all these are particularly colorful or display unusually felicitous fantasy. Nor is this odd: A striking turn of fantasy is apt to be too individual a matter to achieve that consensus without which, as noted above, a name can not be perpetuated; and the colorful, alas, is all too often of such a nature that it runs afoul of censorship – be it the censorship practiced by authorities who must at least tolerate a name if it is to get into maps and be passed on to succeeding generations, or be it the censorship that everyone carries in his own mind and that tells him that certain names, though in

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[10] S. Rosenzweig, *A Note on Rorschach Prehistory*, Rorschach Research Exchange 8 (1944).

[11] J. Kerner, *Kleksographien*, Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1857.

[12] Edmund Wilson, *The Scrolls from the Dead Sea*, New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1955, p. 41.

[13] H. G. Stokes, *English Place-Names*, London: Batsford, 1948.

[14] E. Gudde, *Thousand California Place Names*, Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1947.

[15] *Guide to Adirondack Trails*, Albany: Adirondack Mountain Club, 1950.

private talk they might pass, are not suitable for more general conversation.

Sex organs appear not infrequently in private projections. This observation will not come as a surprise to anybody who has had occasion to familiarize himself with modes of thinking and talking that come to the fore in situations marked by both increased pressure of a damned-up sex drive, and lowering of the generally socially accepted inhibitions – such as, many situations in armies. One would assume that similar conditions prevailed at the frontiers; but though so many of our geographic names are the product of the frontier, few if any frankly sexual topographic names have survived. Stewart, who notes that they have existed, refrains from giving examples.[16]

A sort of compromise was reached on names which project the female breast. Not as genital as other names might be, they are not quite as taboo. Yet their survival is not secured, and a certain coyness is at work disguising or eliminating them. The *Great Tetons* are respectable because not enough people know enough French to appreciate that they are not. San Francisco's *Pechos de la chola* became Twin Peaks. A peak in the Austrian Alps that was aptly named *Geisstuttenspitze* (goat's tits peak) appears in the maps by a name derived from a town that happens to be the seat of an alpine club which erected a shelter on its slope.

The forces making and unmaking such names might be the same all over the world, so it is not astonishing to find examples as easily in Europe as in America. Another instance can be brought in from South Africa, though here we have the additional pecularity that the name in a sense existed before the mountain.

In *King Solomon's Mines*, an adventure story much read in its day, Sir H. Rider Haggard described a pair of mountains that fulfilled the requirements, except that to all appearances they were entirely fictitious. The needs of the plot – and perhaps the coyness that we have found in other cases – caused him to propose the name first in Portuguese: "*duas montanhas que chamei seio de Sheba* ..." – though the English translation is presently given: "... the two mountains I have named Sheba's Breasts ..."[17] The invention is played for all it is worth:

[16] G. R. Stewart, *Names on the Land*, New York: Random House, 1945.

[17] H. Rider Haggard, *King Solomon's Mines* (new ed., New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1926), p. 20.

> . . . glittering like silver in the early rays of the morning sun, were Sheba's breasts . . .[18]
>
> . . . These mountains standing thus, like the pillars of a gigantic gateway, are shaped exactly like a woman's breasts. Their bases swelled gently up from the plain, looking, at that distance, perfectly round and smooth; and on the top of each was a vast round hillock covered with snow, exactly corresponding to the nipple on the female breast.[19]
>
> Behind and over us towered Sheba's snowy breasts . . .[20]

Small wonder that the author got enamored with his brain child – so much so that he became convinced of its independent existance:

> Rhodesia has been discovered, which is a land full of gems and gold . . . also Queen Sheba's Breasts have been found, or something very like to them, and traces of the great road that I described.[21]

What is more, he seems to have turned out to be right, if we can believe a contemporary journalist:

> The proprietress of a hotel we stopped at took us out on the verandah one evening and nodded toward the Western skyline. "Look," she said, "Queen Sheba's Breasts." And there they were, two pointed peaks, just as Haggard described them, and the trail winding down through the pass between them was obviously the one that Quatermain followed.[22]

That in this instance the name survived so triumphantly undisguised while similar names in other countries had to be domesticated may well be due to its origin in fiction, since novelists are accorded more license and the consensus they have to achieve is different from that required for the more sober business of naming a mountain that already exists.

Brazil has the most celebrated example of a descriptive-projective name in Rio de Janeiro's *Pão de açucar*, the Sugar Loaf. The range behind Rio contains a group of rocks that are very similar

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[18] Op. cit., p. 69.

[19] Op. cit., p. 70.

[20] Op. cit., p. 86.

[21] H. Rider Haggard, *The Days of My Life*, London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1926.

[22] Alan Moorehead, *A Reporter in Africa*, The New Yorker, May 25, 1957, p. 68.

in shape to those that in Austria were named goat's tits peak: pointed pillars of graded height close together. These have a name which, equally appropriate to their shape, is infinitely more proper: *Serra dos Orgãos*, Organ Range. (*Serra*, incidentally, – Spanish, *sierra* – is in itself a comparational name as it means saw; there are also peaks called Sawtooth in the Californian "Sierras").

One peak in the Organ Range deserves – and obtains – special attention. The highway up from Rio turns a corner and the traveler finds himself suddenly in a small valley which contains the town of Terezopolis. Here the road becomes a main street, and beyond the end of the street there looms, totally unexpected, majestic, even faintly sinister, rising abruptly above its neighboring rocks that might well be imagined as the fingers of a hand, a tall, straight, incredible rock. If its sudden appearance were not so overwhelming, it might, simply for its shape, have been called "chimney rock." As it is, it bears the name of *Dedo de Deus*, finger of God.

This is projection at its best. Yet, strikingly fit though the name is, it leaves room to wonder what other projection may have been at work there, perhaps before the Christian god became known in these mountains. One is reminded of Ophelia's flower

> That liberal shepherds give a grosser name,
> But our cold maids do dead-men's-fingers call them.[23]

It is possible that Brasilian planters were less liberal than English shepherds.

There is undoubtedly a cultural factor in projection (just as every comparison is seasoned with at least a trace of projection): the English of Shakespeare's day would project differently from the Brasilians of the 19th century because the associative material that their minds had ready was different. Harper's Magazine mentioned an amusing example of this divergence:

> *ocarina* ... [It., dim. of oca, a goose; ... so called from its shape], a small, simple wind instrumend shaped like a sweet potato ...[24]

There is a mountain near the resort town of Zakopane, Poland, called *Gewont* for a legendary knight it is supposed to resemble. When Pilsudski, then the ruler of Poland, died, people discovered

[23] Act IV.

[24] *Webster's New World Dictionary.*

that the outline of the mountain bore a resemblance to the features of the departed, and it became known as Pilsudski's Mountain.

Similar places in Europe and America teem with profiles and other projective features of the peculiar kind that is supposed to appeal to tourists. A genteel and "Victorian" flavor prevails at present; but it is quite possible that in 1984 people will go to a national park for the famous view of *Orlon Falls* from *Hardtop Rock*.

All these are but samples: to illustrate the breadth of the field and the need to see beyond the ephemeral, to discern the great trends. What we have been able to find so far about comparational and projective topographic names is consistent with the theories of modern psychology. Not that these needed confirmation; but to enrich the material on which they are based may always be helpful.

As to the study of names itself, attention to the projective element may be equally rewarding. It has hitherto not been much noted. Yet it represents one of the forces that create names; and perhaps, though a small force, one of the most vital ones. For projection is related to creativity: It is a power by which man breathes life into the lifeless. It is an ability through which man carries on his strange love affair with Nature, reflecting all that in his yearnings which is vulgar or scurrile, and all that is splendid. In constrast to names resulting from more obvious and conscious impulses of naming, projection gives us a chance to descend to deeper sources: both to the changing social aspirations and to the unvarying basic appetites of man.

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Names in some Works of Malaparte

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Curzio Malaparte's works are noteworthy for the many names strewn through their pages. This article would suggest that the presence of these names is not a fortuitous circumstance, but rather a stylistic procedure of some importance. The article will address itself particularly to *La Pelle*.[1]

Through reference to names, especially those associated with literary history, Malaparte consistently economizes in his descriptive passages, and forces the reader to form the picture evoked by a literary association rather than by the novelist himself. An example of this is his allusion to the encounter of the homosexuals residing in Italy during World War II: "Si riconoscevano all'odore, a un accento, a uno sguardo: e con un alto grido di gioia si gettavano gli uni nelle braccia degli altri, come Virgilio e Sordello nell' *Inferno* di Dante, facendo risuonare le vie di Napoli delle loro morbide, e un po' rauche, voci femminili" (p. 108). ["They recognized each other by a scent, by an accent, by a look: and with a loud shout of joy would throw themselves into each other's arms, like Vergil and Sordello in Dante's *Inferno*, making the streets of Naples resound with their morbid and rather raucous feminine voices."] The mention of the meeting of Vergil and Sordello is obviously designated to enable the reader to enlarge Malaparte's image. There is a similar procedure in the description of Hamburg after a saturation bombing: "Per alcuni giorni Amburgo offrì l'aspetto di Ditte, la città infernale" (p. 132). ["For a few days Hamburg looked like Ditte, the city of Hell."]

Malaparte employs this method often enough to allow one to recognize in him a considerable unwillingness to create an autonomous imagery. What he seems consistently to do is to suggest

[1] Curzio Malaparte, *La Pelle* (Rome, 1949). References to pages, made within the text, will be to this edition.

pictures in the reader's mind through the evocative power of names. This is evident in his attempt to communicate the intellectual climate of a certain group in Italy during the war: "... i giovani recitano oggi la parte d'invertiti come, al tempo di Byron e di Musset, recitavan quella di eroi romantici, o, più tardi, quella di poeti maledetti, e più recentemente la parte di raffinati Des Esseintes" (p. 165). ["Youths today play the part of inverts as, in the time of Byron and Musset they played that of romantic heroes, or later, that of decadent poets, and more recently the part of refined Des Esseinteses."]

In the above passage, names are used to characterize periods of history. They are in fact Malaparte's chief characterizing agent. This is particularly true in the case of his description of language. By a list of names Malaparte will hope to enable his reader to hear the tongue spoken by certain people in his writings. The already mentioned homosexuals speak a language of which Malaparte has little to say directly, but which he likens to that of René, of Giraudoux, of Baudelaire, in what he calls a Stravinskian transcription of Proust "pieno di quelle cadenze affettuose e maligne che rievocano il tiepido clima di certi 'interni' proustiani, di certi paesaggi morbosi, tutto l' autunno di cui è ricca la stanca sensibilitâ degli omosessuali moderni. Essi stonavano, parlando in francese, non già come si stona nel canto, ma come si stona parlando in sogno: posavano l'accento fra una parola e l'altra, come fan Proust, Giraudoux, Valéry" (pp. 109–110). ["full of those affettuoso and sly cadenzas which conjure up the warm climate of certain Proustian 'interiors,' of certain morbose landscapes, the whole autumn that enriches the tired sensibility of modern homosexuals. Speaking French, they were out of tune, not as one is in singing, but as one is when talking in a sleep: they would put the stress between one word and another, as Proust, Giraudoux, and Valéry do."] Thus Malaparte identifies a manner of speech with a name which evokes a literary style. Early in *La Pelle* Jack says he learned French from his concierge and from La Fontaine: "Tu ne trouve pas que je parle comme les animaux de La Fontaine? Ho imparato da lui 'qu' un chien peut bien regarder un Evêque'" (pp. 22–23). ["Don't you think I speak like La Fontaine's animals? I learned from him 'that a dog can certainly look at a Bishop.'"] French is not the only language described in an indirect fashion by this writer. In the case of English

he will again have recourse to names. He says that Walter de la Mare's English is like an ancient music, like Rupert Brooke's, the tongue of the last humanistic tradition of Edwardian England. And the Oxford accent of Fred, a character in *La Pelle*, is heard as a "frisson modulé" ["A modulated shudder"], the term used, Malaparte tells us, by Gerard de Nerval to desribe Silvia's speech. Finally the previously mentioned homosexual group is said by the author to have spoken an English reminiscent of the Elizabethan sonnets and of passages uttered by certain of Shakespeare's characters in the comedies. Of course he names them: Theseus (opening *Midsummer Night's Dream* with "O, me thinks, how slow this old moon wanes!") or Hippolyta (saying "Four nights will quickly dream away the time") or Orsino (guessing Viola's sex in *Twelfth Night*).

As might be expected names figure prominently whenever Malaparte is describing people in an intellectual environment or as the product of a certain intellectual climate. He writes of a German woman in *La Pelle* thus: "Gerda Von H ... pareva muoversi e respirare in quel paesaggio convenzionale della poesia di Stephan George, dove le architteture neoclassiche di Winckelmann e gli scenari del secondo Faust fanno da sfondo alle spettrali Muse di Hölderlin e di Rainer Maria Rilke" (p. 136). ["Gerda Von H ... seemed to move and breathe in that conventional landscape of Stephan George's poetry, in which the neoclassic architecture of Winckelmann and the scenarios of the second Faust act as a background for the spectral Muses of Hölderlin and Rainer Maria Rilke."] It is through reference to their readings that we are acquainted with the intellectual make-up of the homosexuals in *La Pelle*. Malaparte tells us that they looked for inspiration to Gide (who was their Goethe) and read André Breton, Paul Elouard, Sartre and Pierre-Jean Jouve.

This indirect method of characterization through names may involve more than one intermediary between the personage characterized and Malaparte's reader. For example, Jack in *La Pelle* is presented as being unlike the Americans in Paris in Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises*. But the characterization does not stop there. Malaparte compounds the effect by adding that Hemingway's Americans were like those of Eleanor Green, of whom Sinclair Lewis once wrote that they were "Come i profughi intellettuali della Rive Gauche

verso il 1925, o come T. S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, o Isadora Duncan, iridescent flies caught in the black web of an ancient and amoral european [sic] culture" (p. 26). ["Like the intellectual refugees of the Left Bank about 1925, or like T. S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, or Isadora Duncan . . ."] Even when Malaparte ventures a description of his own, he often invokes the name of a literary figure as a kind of ultimate confirmation. Thus he compares Italy's wartime homosexuals to Americans in Paris in the 1920's ". . . i cui visi appannati dall'alcool e dalle droghe appaiono incastrati l'uno nell'altro, come in un quadro bizantino, nella galleria dei personaggi dei primi romanzi di Hemingway . . ." (p. 26). [". . . whose faces dulled with alcohol and drugs seem wedged together, as in a byzantine painting, in the gallery of characters in Hemingway's first novels . . ."]

As can be seen, Malaparte has much to say about these inverts in *La Pelle*. He shows them meeting each other as Vergil and Sordello met, he describes their intellectual orientation in terms of several French writers whom he names. He pictures their physical appearance in the light of Hemingway. He also alludes to what he calls their bourgeois aestheticism, and his definition of this is again a series of names. Here, as elsewhere, Malaparte would seem to aim at a cumulative effect, as he finds their above mentioned aestheticism based on a group of writers including Novalis, the comte de Lautréamont, Wilde, Diaghilev, Rilke, D'Annunzio, Gide, Cocteau, Proust, Maritain, Apollinaire, Valéry and Barrès. He adds that later the homosexuals turned to Marx and the Soviet writer, Simonov.

The examples of Malaparte's use of names to characterize, given above, involve groups or members of agroup forming a kind of collectivity.[2] However, the same process is evident where the writer deals with an individual. Jack in *La Pelle* is described as inebriated, confusing Horace and Poe and putting Annabel Lee and Lydia in the same stanza. This is the Jack "Che conosceva tutto Rimbaud a memoria" (p. 45). ["Who knew all of Rimbaud by heart]. It is Jack whose kneeling on the sand at the Salerno landings prompts Malaparte to evoke Aeneas' arrival at the mouth of the Tiber.

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[2] Gerda Von H. . . is not an exception, as we meet her in a group with which she quickly identifies herself.

We see the same dependence on literary reference in the comparison of Conseulo to the women "dai capelli trasparenti del color dell' ala delle cicale, che nelle commedie di Fernando de Rojas e di Gil Vicente parlano in piedi, con lunghi gesti e lenti" (p. 299). ["with transparent hair the color of the harvest-fly's wing, who in the plays of Fernando de Rojas and Gil Vicente stand talking with slow, sweeping gestures."]

Similarly Malaparte compares Consuelo to women "... dai capelli del colore del miele freddo, che nelle commedie di Lope de Vega, di Calderón de la Barca, di Ramon de la Cruz, parlano con voce stridula, camminando in punta di piedi ... Anche Consuelo ha 'los ojos graciosos' della canzone di Melibea e di Lucrezia nella *Celestina*, che umiliano 'los dulces árboles sombrosos'" (p. 299). [..."with hair the color of cold honey, who in the plays of Lope de Vega, of Calderón de la Barca, of Ramon de la Cruz, speak in a shrieking voice, walking on tip-toe. Consuelo too has 'the attractive eyes' of the song of Melibea and Lucretia in the *Celestina*, which humble 'the sweet, shady trees.'"] The procedure is repeated in his comparison of Mrs. Fiat in *La Pelle* to Toutchevitch "quel personaggio di *Anna Karenina* di Tolstoi, che era dello stesso stile Luigi XV del salotto della Principessa Betsy Tverskaia' (p. 258). ["that character in Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina*, who was the same Louis XV style as Princess Betsy Tverskaia's drawing-room."] Jeanlouis in *La Pelle* is handsome in a way that elicits names: "Era, quella di Jeanlouis, la romantica bellezza virile che piaceva a Stendhal, la bellezza di Fabrizio del Dongo. Aveva la testa di Antinoo ..." (p. 122). ["Jeanlouis' beauty was the virile, romantic beauty that Stendhal liked, Fabrizio del Dongo's beauty. He had Antinoo's head."] The use of names in this instance is of particular interest in that the reader is placed two steps away from the quality of Jeanlouis' good looks. This quality is not merely that of the beauty of Fabrizio del Dongo, but specifically what pleased Stendhal in it. This relationship becomes important as Malaparte goes on to establish a parallel. "Quegli ufficiali francesi erano Stendhal di fronte a Fabrizio del Dongo. E anch' essi, come gìa Stendhal, non avertivano che la belleza di Jeanlouis era, come quella di Fabrizio, una belleza senza ironia, e senza inquietudini di natura morale" (p. 152). ["Those French officers were Stendhal facing Fabrizio Dongo. And they too, as Stendhal, paid no attention to the fact

that Jeanlouis' beauty was, like that of Fabrizio, without irony and without any preoccupations of a moral nature."]

Malaparte applies his method of characterization not only to animate beings, but also to inaminates. Describing the sea as wine-colored, he remarks that this is the way it looks in Homer. And his Rome glistens in the Sun "Simile a quelle città di pietra chiara che appaiono in fonda all'orizzonte nei paesaggi dell' *Illiade*" (p. 336). ["Like those cities of bright stone that appear deep on the horizon of the landscapes in the *Iliad*."] He thinks of a house once visited from time to time by Pierre Lyautey in terms of names: Napoleon (he had a room there) Stendhal (he and Angela Pietragrua shared and hence immortalized a bed there), and Parini (he wrote his poem "Il Giorno" on a desk in the house).

Malaparte's preoccupation with names is particularly striking in *La Pelle*, but it is not new with that work. An enumeration of names serves to describe Paris in *Kaputt*: "... quella sua giovane Parigi, di Puvis de Chavannes, dei suoi amici pittori, Zorn, Wahlberg, Cederström, Arsenius, Wennerberg, di quei suoi anni felici. 'Paris était bien jeune, alors.' Era la Parigi di Madame de Morienval, di Madame de Saint-Euverte, della Duchessa di Luxembourg (e anche di Madame de Cambremer e del giovane Marchese di Beausergent), di quelle stesse déesses di Proust —" (pp. 48–49).[3] ["... his young Paris, the Paris of Puvis de Chavannes, of his painter friends, Zorn, Wahlberg, Cederström, Arsenius, Wennerberg, of his happy years. 'Paris was very young then.' It was the Paris of Madame de Morienval, of Madame de Saint-Euverte, of the Duchess of Luxemburg (and also of Madame de Cambremer and of the young Marquis de Beausergent), of those same goddesses of Proust ..."] Paris furnishes a continued application of the method as Malaparte proceeds:

> Sulle immagini della remota Parigi di Madame de Guermantes e del Principio Eugenio, si sovrapponevano a poco a poco, davanti ai miei occhi, le dolorose e care immagini di una Parigi più giovane, più torbida, più inquieta, più triste, forse. Come i visi dei passanti che affiorano dalla nebbia di là dai vetri di un caffè, io vedevo affacciarsi alla memoria i volti di Albertine, di Odette, di Robert de Saint Loup,

[3] Curzio Malaparte, *Kaputt* (Naples, 1944). References to pages, made within the text, will be to this edition.

> le ombre degli adolescenti che s'intravedono dietro le spalle di Swan e di M. de Charlus, le fronti segnate dall'alcool, dall' insonnia, e dalla sensualità, dei personaggi di Apollinaire, di Matisse, di Picasso, di Hemingway, gli spettri azzurri e grigi di Paul Elouard (pp. 51–52).
>
> [On the images of the remote Paris of Madame de Guermantes and of Prince Eugene, there were gradually superimposed before my eyes, the sad and dear images of a younger, more troubled, a sadder Paris, perhaps. Like the faces of passersby that appear out of the mist from the other side of a café window, I could see looming in my memory the faces of Albertine, Odette, Robert de Saint Loup, the shades of the adolescents partially seen behind the backs of Swan and M. de Charlus, their foreheads marked with the alcohol, insomnia, and sensuality of the characters of Apollinaire, Matisse, Picasso, Hemingway, the blue and grey spectres of Paul Elouard."]

A city, a whole country may be summed up in a name as Malaparte tells us, writing, "Parigi, per Victor Maurer, era il bar del Ritz, e la Francia era il suo amico Pierre Cot" (p. 516). ["Paris, for Victor Maurer, was the Ritz bar, and France was his friend Pierre Cot."]

It is not surprising that the Russian village of Alexandrowska should evoke a comment from Malaparte bearing on its name: "In Russia, i villaggi si assomigliano tutti, anche nel nome. Ci son molti villaggi che hanno il nome di Alexandrowska, nella regione di Balta" (p. 54). ["In Russia all villages resemble each other even as to name. There are many villages with the name Alexandrowska, in the region of Balta."]

The importance that Malaparte attaches to names as words used to designate persons or institutions is nowhere more clearly seen than in his fascinating comparison of Mussolini with Lord Perth. He notes their manner of speech as revealed, significantly enough, in their pronunciation of names. Mussolini sounded like a peasant of Romagna, saying "scopone," "Lambrusco," "Comizio," and "Forlì," when pronouncing such words as Mediterranean, Suez, Ethiopia, while Lord Perth pronounced the same words as he would the Serpentine, Whiskey, and Edinburgh.[4]

[4] Names are not the only term of comparison here, but they are much in evidence.

As has been stated, Malaparte's dedication to names was a long-standing one. In *Don Camalèo* (1928) there are already examples of names in enumeration, resulting in a kind of cumulative effect.[5] For example, he writes: "Se l'Italia di questi anni fosse la Francia dell' ottantanove, e se i partigiani del governo di Ottobre avessero avuto a che fare con: *Les Actes des Apôtres*, con i due Rivarol, Suleau, Champcenetz, Mirabeau, 'Le Vicomte' Peltier, Bergasse, Monlosier, Lauragnais, Tilly, de Bonnay, Barruel-Bauvert, sareberro morti tutti quanti di paura" (p. 125). [If the Italy of these years were the France of '89 and if the October Government partisans had had to deal with *The Acts of the Apostles*, with the two Rivarols, Suleau, Champenetz, Mirabeau, 'Le Vicomte' Peltier, Bergasse, Monlosier, Lauragnais, Tilly, De Bonnay, Barruel-Bauvert, the whole lot would have died of fright."]

There is in the *Camalèo* the same use of a name to characterize as is seen in *La Pelle* and *Kaputt*. At one point Sebastiano remarks to his pupil Don Camalèo that Italy no longer has any courtiers left. There are only poultry in the courtyard of Rome. Don Camalèo asks whether these are animals such as one finds in Phaedrus: "'Come quelli di La Fontaine, piuttosto' replicò Sebastiano cambiando discorso" (p. 89). ["'Like those of La Fontaine rather' replied Sebastiano changing the conversation."] And on another page Don Camalèo complains that people treat him like a man who resembles an animal: "'O come una specie di Scarron' interloquiva Sebastiano" (p. 127). ["'Or like a kind of Scarron' interjected Sebastian. It is natural in the same novel to find the author referring to Lamartine's characterization of Talleyrand as a muted Mirabeau in preface to his own characterization of the Italian people as ". . . tutti dei Machiavelli a mezza voce" (p. 175). [". . . All muted Machiavellis."] And consistent with Malaparte's use of names to replace descriptive adjectives is his allusion to "Quello strano e magro personaggio alla Balzac" (p. 135). ["That odd, thin personage à la Balzac."] Indeed the whole book *Don Camalèo*, bitterly satirical of the prattling conqueror of defenseless Ethiopia, is an eloquent witness to Malaparte's emphasis on names. The name "Mussolini" seems to occur on almost every page of the novel.

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[5] Curzio Malaparte, *Don Camalèo* (Florence, 1946). References to pages, made within the text, will be to this edition.

In the twelve pages of Chapter XXI "L'Uomo et la bestia," the name occurs thirty-four times.

The effect of Malaparte's use of names as a characterizing agent is to make his style a hurried one. It also injects a distinct superficiality to his descriptions. Quite aside from such inaccuracies as placing the meeting of Vergil and Sordello in the *Inferno* rather than in the *Purgatorio*, Malaparte sometimes calls on names for what they do not have to give. There is, for instance, no such instinctive recognition in the Vergil-Sordello meeting as in that of the homosexuals of *La Pelle*. Only when Sordello hears the word "Mantova" does he say "O Mantovano, io son Sordello de la tua terra." ["O Mantouan, I am Sordello from your land."]

Malaparte's avalanche of names tends to neglect the valid distinctions and nuances of literary criticism. Too many of them are used at the same time to qualify a person, a place, or an object. Only rarely does the author acknowledge chronology and the difference between generations, as for instance, when he writes: "Quel che appariva strano era il fatto che Barrès era altrettanto lontano da Jeanlouis e dai giovani della sua generazione quanto Gide: il Gide di 'moi, cela m'est égal, parce que j'écris *Paludes*'" *La Pelle*, p. 153). ["What appeared strange was the fact that Barrès was as far from the youth of his generation as Gide: the Gide of 'To me that makes no difference, because I wrote *Paludes*.'"]

This super-abundance is often self-defeating. One thinks of what Malaparte himself wrote in a novel: "Sebastiano aveva regione: lo scolaro pretendeva troppi maestri. Ora andava matto per l' autore del *Dizionario filosofico*, ora per Bossuet. Plutarco lo inamorò per una settimana, Amleto gli tolse sonno di due notti; finì per disgustarsi di Amleto leggendo Laforgue (*Don Camalèo*, p. 87). ["Sebastian was right: the pupil aspired to too many masters. Now he would go mad for the author of the *Philosophical Dictionary*, now for Bossuet. Plutarch enamoured him for a week, Hamlet cost him two nights sleep; he finally became disgusted with Hamlet reading Laforgue."]

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Place-Names in Salisbury, Connecticut

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THE TOWN (I.E., TOWNSHIP) OF SALISBURY in its 280 years of recorded history has seen a succession of cultures and fashions of civilization. It is the intention of this paper to show how these changes have left their traces in the town's place names.

Salisbury is a rectangle in the northwest corner of Connecticut, about nine miles long from north to south, and seven miles wide, with the Housatonic River as its eastern boundary. Its first white settlers came in 1719; during the Revolution it had a population of about 2,000, and the 1950 census gave it something over 3,000. It consists for the most part of wooded hills, and has half a dozen small lakes; its two principal villages, Lakeville and Salisbury, are toward the middle of the town. Its greatest industry was iron mining; Ore Hill (Iorn Oar Hill, as it was written in 1795) has been worked most of the time from 1732 to 1923. Indeed, the only really important mining Connecticut ever had was for iron, in this corner of the state.

Salisbury got its name from the English cathedral city, but just how is uncertain, the latter statement being true of many of Connecticut's 169 towns. The earliest detailed attribution has the most flavor and the least probability. In 1803 the Rev. J. W. Crossman delivered in Salisbury a New Year's Discourse. Salisbury, says Parson Crossman, "took its name from a Mr. Salisbury who lived not far from the center of the town. It is currently reported (and by good authority) that this Mr. Salisbury, after moving from here, had an unruly servant-girl who had run away from him; that he went after her, bound her with a rope, and tied her to his horse, then rode so as to pull her down, and drawed her in such a cruel manner that she died in consequence of the abuse. The matter was taken up in the state of New-York, and he, then in old age, was sentenced by the court to be hung when he should be a hundred years old. About four years ago, he arrived at this age. A reprieve

was granted him for a certain time; and if he has not died very lately, he is living to this day."[1]

According to the *State Register*, the town was "named May, 1738 (by the Rev. Thomas Noyes), from Salisbury, Wiltshire."[2] A variant is that the Rev. Moses Noyes, of Lyme, an original proprietor of the town, was the son of a native of a little village in Wiltshire, near Salisbury.[3] It has been noted that Lichfield, Winchester, and Salisbury, all cathedral cities in southern England, gave their names to northwestern Connecticut towns while Joseph Talcott was governor of the colony.[4] Even if this were true, it is doubtful if any conclusion should be drawn: Governor Talcott never visited England, and our eighteenth century ancestors were not very favorably disposed toward cathedrals. Several Connecticut towns derived their English names through towns in Massachusetts but I can find no connection with Salisbury, Massachusetts, named a century earlier, and in the extreme opposite corner of its state.[5]

The *State Register* asserts that the town's Indian name was *Wesatogue*.[6] This is only partially correct. The Dutch called it *Wootawk* in the land purchase from the Indians in 1720.[7] Jeffery's map of 1780 spells it *Wiatiak*.[8] On the Geological Survey map surveyed 1884–85 it is Wetaug.[9] Every Indian name had a multiplicity of English spellings, and though I have never run across the form *Wesatogue* it is of course a possibility. Furthermore, Wetaug never was the name of more than a quarter of the present town, and did not include the main villages. The name probably

[1] A printed copy of this *Discourse* is in the Connecticut State library, whose rich collections include many of the sources of this paper.

[2] *State of Connecticut Register and Manual, 1952*, p. 284.

[3] Franklin B. Dexter, *The History of Connecticut as Illustrated by the Names of her Towns*. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. Proceedings, 1885. P. 15.

[4] *Lure of the Litchfield Hills*, I, 6.

[5] *Mass. Historical Society Proceedings*, 1873, p. 193.

[6] *Conn. Register, loc. cit.* The Register's information on the origin of Connecticut town names appears to be derived from Rawson W. Heddon, *A Tourist's Guide to Connecticut*, Mattatuck Historical Soc., Waterbury, Conn., 1923, which is not always reliable.

[7] S. Church, *Historical Address*, 1841. New Haven, 1842, p. 12.

[8] Section of Map published in London, 1774, by Thomas Jefferys, Geographer to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales. Edited by Frederick G. Mathew. (C.S.L.).

[9] Geological Survey topographical map, Sheffield quadrangle, 15′, surveyed 1884–85, ed. of 1897.

means "the wigwam place," and as late as 1740, according to Crossman, there was "an Indian settlement in Weatog consisting of 70 wigwams all in a cluster."[9] This was on a meadow beside the Housatonic River, toward the northeast corner of the town. The name was soon extended to include all the long stretch of river-meadow. In 1723, when Wetaug's boundaries were written down,[10] it meant the northeast quarter of the present town; its western boundary was the hill range east of Salisbury village, *Wetauwanchu* "Wetaug mountain", and today in speech, though not on the maps, commonly shortened to Wetauk Mountain.[11] Older maps show a Wetaug hamlet over two miles south of the Massachusetts line, but the G. S. 1884–95 map puts it almost on the line. The only survival of the name on the current G. S. map is Wetaug Road, which follows the west bank of the Housatonic from near Falls Village some eight miles north to Massachusetts.[12]

There is another Connecticut Weatogue, a hamlet south of Simsbury on the Farmington River, in another west bank river-meadow. The coincidence has been explained by guessing that Indians friendly to the English fled to the west from their wigwam-place, carrying the name with them, when King Philip burned Simsbury in 1676; or, more prosaically, by an exchange of lands between the settlers of the two towns.[13] However, there might well have been several "wigwam-places" in the Colony.

When Connecticut began to develop its untouched northwest quarter, the boundaries of future towns were laid out arbitrarily as straight lines, and each was given a letter to distinguish it. Salisbury was Town M, and it was not officially named Salisbury until 1741, though the inhabitants may have used the name somewhat earlier. It can still be pronounced "Sawlsb'ry," after the old clipped English fashion, though the spelling pronunciation may eventually prevail, as it has with the Connecticut names Norwich (no longer "Norrich"); with the Thames River at New London; and, I am told, with Durham (no longer "Dur'm").

At the coming of the whites there were probably no Indian settlements in this northwest quarter of the state, only "a transient

[10] Church, *loc. cit.*

[11] M. D. Rudd, *Historical Sketch of Salisbury*, with appendix on Indian names by I. W. Sanford. N.Y., 1899, p. 22.

[12] G. S. Ashley Falls quad., 7½′, 1949; South Canaan quad., 1950.

[13] *Connecticut Quarterly*, IV, iv, pp. 345, 364. Oct.-Dec., 1898.

war-party, or a wandering hunter."[14] This would have been because of the dreaded raiding parties of the Mohawks from New York. The Indians of Connecticut, like the Arabs of the desert, seem to have had a name for every small locality and landmark, as being useful in their hunting and nomadic journeys. Almost all of these names have been lost; a few remain on Indian deeds or manuscript maps. The region of Salisbury was no exception, and no other town in the state today has more polysyllabic Indian names of lakes and hills. Beside Wetaug and Wetauwanchu Mountain and Brook, picturesque Wachocastinook Brook, Schenob Brook, and Wononskopomuc (accented on the penult), Wononpakook, Washinee and Washining Lakes are names in regular use today.

These names probably do not represent aboriginal names, preserved by uninterrupted use. Eighteenth century colonists did not like Indians and saw nothing picturesque in their guttural, polysyllabic, agglutinative names. The tendency was first to shorten them to two-syllabled words, and then to substitute commonplace English words, preferably the names of the property owners. The nineteenth century, however, had leisure enough to be romantic, especially as the Indians themselves had disappeared. Town historians began retrieving archaic names from town deeds and records, and occasionally went even further and invented Indian names to meet the demand.

Twin Lakes, the largest in the town, are examples. The eastern and larger one had the recorded Indian name of Panaheconnok; in 1743 the English were calling it North Pond, later changed to Northeast Pond, when Riga Lake was called Northwest Pond. The southwestern twin had the Indian name Hokonkamok. In 1847 Judge Samuel Church wrote that the Twin Lakes, "described in the old records as 'lying very nearly close together' were called Washinee and Washining." Note that he implies that these names were "in the old records," but does not actually say so. As far as I know, no one has found an earlier mention of these names than

[14] John W. Deforest, *History of the Indians of Connecticut*. Hartford, 1851, p. 51. Mohawk Mountain, to the southeast of Salisbury in Cornwall, is supposed to derive its name from a lookout maintained by the local Indians to guard against the dreaded Mohawks. *The Connecticut Guide*, Emergency Relief Commission, Hartford, 1935, p. 88.

Judge Church's; the earliest maps I have noted as using them date from 1848–55, and 1853.[15] A generation later Trumbull implied that Judge Church had invented the names, and he doubted that they were Indian words at all.[16] Later their meaning was supposed to be "smiling water" and "laughing water", Washining as the larger lake possessing the greater hilarity. Or, as a later writer more elegantly put it: Washining "expressing beauty, indicating a higher degree of charm than Washinee."[17]

Our own century is no less romantic than the nineteenth. The elaborate *Connecticut; A Guide* blossoms out with what it calls "local legend" to the effect that Washining and Washinee "were named for two daughters" [twins?] of an Indian chief who ruled over the tribes between the Housatonic and the Hudson. They loved a captured Indian brave, but could not secure his release. On the evening before the day set for his torture, "both sisters embarked on the waters of the twin lakes and never were seen again. Today it is said that when the moon is full, an empty canoe is seen on the lake, drifting down the shimmering path of reflected moonlight, slipping noiselessly over the waves."[18] All over New England there are Lovers Leaps, at each of which, according to "local legend" a lovelorn Indian maiden and/or a lovelorn brave jumped off a cliff, and Salisbury has one of this common variety too.[19] But it is the only place where twins jumped out of a canoe. One is reminded of the origin of the name of Lake Compounce in Southington, Connecticut. An Indian chief, Compoun or Compound, was carrying home a large kettle, and presumably some firewater. Arriving at the lake shore opposite his abode, instead of lugging the kettle around the pond he decided to sail across in it. Like the

[15] *Map of Connecticut* pub. by F. A. Brown, Hartford, Conn. 1855; entered 1848. L. Fagan, *Map of the Town of Salisbury*, 1853. Pub. by Richard Clark. (In Connecticut Historical Society.)

[16] "Neither Washining or Washinee is an aboriginal name, and one has apparently been made out of the other." J. Hammond Trumbull, *Indian Names of Places, etc. in and on the Borders of Connecticut, with Interpretations of Some of Them*. Hartford, 1881, p. 78.

[17] Steel, *A Few Place Names of Connecticut*. Eugene, Oregon, 1922.

[18] *Connecticut, A Guide*. American Guide Series. Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1938, p. 421.

[19] I. W. Sanford, *Historical and Topographical Map of Salisbury*. 1899. Five sheets in portfolio. It shows Lovers Leap near the southeast corner of Lake Wononskopomuc.

sisters, he was seen no more, and like them he gave his name to his watery grave: Compoun's Lake is now Compounce Lake.[20]

The first white settlers of Salisbury were the Dutch, who have left a thin sprinkling of Dutch names behind them. They were few in number, but had unmistakeable names. Beginning with Abraham Van Dusen in 1719, they included Dyckmans and Knickerbockers, but the most influential as a name was the apt one of Dutcher. Ruluff Dutcher ferried passengers across the Housatonic at Wetaug in a canoe, so it was fitting that Dutcher's Bridge, still so named, was first built there in 1760. In 1738 the "Heirs of Mr. Ruluff the Dutcher" were mentioned, and there was a lengthy succession of his descendants bearing the same name. The Dutcher's Bridge Cemetery, a little north of the bridge, was in 1802 bought for one dollar by the town, from a Captain Ruloff Dutcher.[21] And Dutcher Hill is just across the Housatonic, in a corner of North Canaan.

The bold height half a mile north of Salisbury street, the northern end of Wetaumanchu, was called by the Dutch Barack Matiff; the name still survives, though unfortunately it has not been retained on the G. S. maps. It is said to be "a composition of two words each with the same meaning, a 'steep high cliff' or 'hill.'"[22] Barack is the Dutch word for the kind of haystack with a wooden cover which slides up and down on poles.[23] Barack Matiff's English sister, The Haystack, ten miles to the east, is even more prominent to the north of Norfilk. In 1740 what is now known as Tom's Hill, to the east of Barack Matiff, was called Toms Barack, as owned by Stephen Toms (1745). Confusingly, only six miles away, in Canaan, there is a Barrack Mountain, which however was named for a Mr. Barrack, the owner of a farm which included part of the hill.

The Dutch name Fell-kill or Fels Kill "fall river" was applied to Wachocastinook Brook,[24] now called Riga Brook locally and on the State Highway Department map; and "the Moore Brook was long

[20] H. R. Timlow, *Ecclesiastical and other Sketches of Southington, Conn.* Hartford, 1875.

[21] Salisbury Association. *Geographical Location of Historical Landmarks in the Town of Salisbury, Conn.* 1949.

[22] Rudd, p. 22.

[23] Grace Wheeler, *Memories.* Stonington, Conn. (1948), p. 108. A region near Albany used to be called the Hill Barrack Country.

[24] Rudd, p. 22.

known by the Dutch name, 'Salmon-kill,' and...near Salisbury it was known as the Salmon Fell-kill,"[25] where it is now simply Salmon Creek. Tomsteen Rock (originally *Toms Steen*, or rock) on the Appalachian Trail;[26] Frink Hill, and Frink Point on Washinee Lake, and Finnin Mountain (the old name for the north end of the Sharon Range[27]) have Dutch sounding names, and there is Decker Brook: Goodeth Decker of Ulster County, N. Y. and Peter White of Salisbury were married in 1749.[28] But by 1740 eleven English and only five Dutch families lived in the town. The name White shows how closely the two stocks were connected from the beginning here. White or Great Hollow, the handsome broad valley leading north to Lime Rock, was named for William White, who died in 1751, in his eighty-fifth year. Though born an Englishman, he had long lived in the Dutch settlements, had married a Dutch wife, and with Van Dusen purchased land here of the Indians in 1709, and later they became the first settlers of the town.[29]

Some of the old English place names suggest the possibility of poetic imagination: Birds Peak, Gay Woods, Ball Brook, and Miles Mountain, for instance. But the pioneers were too busy for anything but the strictly practical; almost all the hills and brooks were named for their owners, simply for convenience' sake. Joseph Bird moved here from Litchfield in 1748; David Ball had a famous forge in 1781; Henry Gay was an early settler; and Miles's farm was on Miles Mountain.[30]

The only approved release for the picturesque was in religion. All respectable New Englanders knew their Bible very well indeed, and the colorful, hot Hebrew emotions furnished some release for Calvinists' imagination. Yet only nine of the State's 169 towns were named directly from the Bible, and most of those are in this part of the state, hence are not very early. One gets the strong impression that these names were selected for very practical reasons, also. Connecticut Valley land speculators seem to have used religion in order to unload their unvisited acres, just as Dickens's young Martin Chuzzlewit invested his all in Eden, one of the most promising

[25] Sanford, 1899, Salisbury map. [26] *Ibid.* [27] *Ibid.*

[28] *Salisbury Assoc. Historical Collections*, 1913–16. Vol. I, p. 42.

[29] Rudd, pp. 7–9.

[30] For Bird, see Church, p. 79; for Ball, Church, p. 55, and Rudd, p. 14; for Gay, Church, p. 7; Stephen and Abigail Miles had three children, 1788–92; Salis. Assoc. *Hist. Coll.*

spots in America -- which turned out to be a dismal swamp with one solitary inhabitant more dead than alive. Salisbury is flanked by Canaan, "land of milk and honey," and Sharon with its rose and its description: "Sharon shall be a fold of flocks." Just to the east is Goshen, of which Pharaoh had said to Joseph, "In the best of the land make thy father and brethren to dwell; in the land of Goshen let them dwell." Not far away are Bethlehem "house of bread," Bethel "house of God," and Bethany "house of song."

No Biblical name appears on any modern map of Salisbury, but there used to be a single one, and that the first given by Englishmen, before they had moved into the region. In 1717 the commission engaged in marking the Connecticut-Massachusetts boundary line made a little side excursion between the Housatonic and Twin Lakes, to "a mountain we call Mount Eschol from the mighty clusters of grapes growing there."[31] The commissioners had in mind the first Hebrew prospectors who ventured into the land of Canaan, that is, Palestine. They had returned with "a branch with one cluster of grapes, and they bare it between two on a staff.... The place was called the brook of Eschol, a cluster of grapes."[32] The name, existing merely in a report, naturally did not stick; the Dutch named Mount Eschol Toms Barack, for the settlers Robert and Sarah Toms,[33] and now it is plain Toms Hill.

Bear Mountain, the state's highest elevation (2316 feet) was presumably named for its bears, the last of which was shot in 1821.[34] But many of the state's other Bear Mountains and Bear Hills were originally spelled Bare, and may have been named because they were unforested, like Mount Riga's north summit, Bald Peak. If the trees grew up again, it would be natural to change to the more exciting spelling Bear.

Some of the interesting place names in Salisbury have known origins. Beecher Hill (on Belgo Road) and Beecher's Pulpit[35] (the boulder in the woods back of the Center schoolhouse), are reminders of Henry Ward Beecher's frequent visits to the town, and it was he who named Inspiration Point, the place on Town Hill (not far from Hotchkiss School), where the stagecoach on the Hudson River-

[31] This is quoted by Church, p. 75.

[32] *Numbers*, XIII, 24. [33] Salis. Assoc. *Hist. Coll.*, I, 69.

[34] J. C. Goddard, *Salisbury*. Lakeville, 1931, p. 5.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

Boston route used to stop to let its passengers enjoy the view.[36] Presumably Bunker Hill was named after 1775; and Lions Head is a good name for the "bold, rockfaced spur"[37] of Mount Riga. Spooky Hollow, [38] on Farnum Road, is a better name than the common Dark Hollows in other towns, and is presumably another Dutch heritage, since *spook* is of Dutch derivation.

Interlachen, between the two lakes south of Lakeville, was a name imported from Switzerland by a romantic hotel-owner. And Mount Riga, site of iron mines, has two rival explanations: it was named by miners who had either come from Switzerland and Mount Righi, or from Russia and Riga on the Baltic.[39] Sugar Hill, above Amesville, was the site of a sugar-maple grove; the name is common throughout the state, and was at one time also used for Wetauwanchu Mountain.[40] Wildcat Hollow (locally Cat Hollow) and Wolf Den are self-explanatory; Wolf Pen Swamp, if Pen be not a mistake for *Den*, is unique in the State.[41] Toward the end of the nineteenth century a Lotus Lodge was built on the south shore of Riga Lake, otherwise called North Pond or Northwest Lake, and a valiant but futile attempt was made to change the name to Lotus Lake.[42] Presumably Lotus was an elegant name for pond-lilies.

The possibility, however, that Lotus Lake might have been the scene of an aspiring botanist's attempt at an old-world importation, introduces us to the place names for which so far no explanation has been found. An old *Connecticut Quarterly* article on Salisbury has the tantalizing sentence, "Babe's Hill and Tory's Hill commemorate by their names traditions of the region," and says no more about it. In the intervening fifty-eight years have these traditions continued to be handed down? Goddard was making a guess when he wrote, "Babe's Hill is small, as its name implies," but this seems too simple an explanation of a name unique in the state, and certainly it suggests no tradition.[43]

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[36] *Ibid.*, p. 6. Beecher described Salisbury in some of his *Star Papers*, N.Y., 1955.

[37] Conn. *Qtly.*, IV.

[38] Sanford.

[39] *Conn., A Guide*, pp. 420–21. Mt. Riga's slopes are still inhabited by the primitive "Raggies," perhaps the descendants of Hessian deserters.

[40] Church, p. 12.

[41] Sanford, text in Rudd, and map.

[42] *Conn. Qtly.*, IV, 357, 1898, and Sanford 1899 map.

[43] *Conn. Qtly.*, IV, p. 371; Goddard, p. 5.

Belgo or Bellgo Hill, with its Road west of Lakeville, is the same as Beecher Hill; but who or what was Belgo? Who was hung on Gallows (locally now called Brinton) Hill? And what was the origin of Beeslick, the name of a pond almost on the Sharon line, and of its draining Brook? Its Indian name, Tattaquanoch-paucook, means "boggy or quaking meadow pond place," the ending having been *-paug* "pond," plus *auk*, "place." An extensive swamp lies east of the pond. Early deeds called it Beeslake. Judge Church wrote that it was "called by us Beezelake Pond, and by the Indians Noncook," a typical example of shortening. An 1859 map names it Beestick, and one of 1878 gives Beastlick Lake, perhaps under the influence of Western buffalo licks. The earliest form, Bees Lake, is as probable a source as any.[44] Brassie Brook and Lost Brook have lost their names' origin.

Town Hill, like several others in the State, in 1739 was laid out with a green or marketplace by the original proprietors, to be the site of the town's central village, but time decreed otherwise. Other Rose Hills in Connecticut were named for their owners' family name, but the Salisbury Rose Hill, now Welles Hill, was so called from the wealth of roses cultivated there.[45] The 18th Century "the Hollow" was prettified in the 19th Century to Rocky Dell, until industry changed it to the present Lime Rock.[46] Camp's Forge, near the Massachusetts line, was, after 1825, when Phineas Chapin (b. 1757) built a furnace there, called Chapinville, and the name remained peacefully for almost a century. Then in 1920 the Post Office decreed that it be called Taconic, "because of confusion among so many names ending in -ville." An indignant public meeting was held and refused to endorse the change, but the post office and the railroad station were changed to Taconic nevertheless. Rand McNally 1925 Atlas apparently lost its head; it named Taconic station, a mile south of the village, Chapinville station, and the village itself Forge Pond Village, an original nomenclature not found elsewhere, and dubious since the only Forge Pond on record

[44] In 1745: "ye beaslake pond so called." *Salis. Assoc.*, II, 195. G. S. map, Sharon quad., 1950, gives it as one word, though it is often spelled as two. Sanford has Bees Lake; Goddard, Beaslick; B. Richardson, Salisbury map, 1878, Beastlick Lake; Clark & Tackabury Conn. map, 1859, Beestick Pond. See Russ, p. 22.

[45] *Conn. Qtly.*, IV, p. 368.

[46] *Lure of the Litchfield Hills*, I, iii, 25; II, i, 11.

is three miles away on the other side of Mount Riga. By now, officialdom has won out, and the name Chapinville does not appear.[47] Presumably the Post Office did not object to the swarm of -villes, though it might well have done so, and Danielsonville is now sensibly reduced to Danielson; but there was a Chapinville (now Chapin) in New York, and another in Massachusetts, besides the Connecticut one; also there were five Chapins in other states.[48]

The replacement, Taconic, is a simplified form of the guttural Indian name for the range of hills dividing Connecticut and Massachusetts from New York. There is a Taghkanick Creek in Columbia County, N.Y.; the name was spelled in many ways, Taghanick being as frequent as any. Of the dozen meanings suggested for the Indian word, Trumbull cautiously says, "the least objectionable of these is probably 'forest' or 'wilderness' from '*tokonc*' 'woods,' literally 'wild lands' or 'forest.'" Judge Church suggested an Indian's name, Tocconuc, but the Indians named places from people as rarely as the English did frequently, because of the differing conceptions of land ownership. The name is sometimes applied to a single mountain rather vaguely placed in the west part of Salisbury.[49]

Over a score of Salisbury place names have been given because of the great iron industry. At first the iron came from near the surface, from "ore beds," which came to be called mines when more excavation was needed. The Old Hill Ore Grant, west of Salisbury village, was given by the Assembly in 1731.[50] Falls at the head of Wononscopomuc Lake were utilized for Salisbury (Blast) Furnace (1748), which gave the lake the name of Furnace Pond, and caused the growth of Furnace Village. This in 1846 became Lakeville, which in turn has caused the lake to be commonly called Lakeville Lake today.[51] Ethan Allen's Well, very near the Lakeville railroad station, is supposed to have been dug by him when he was helping to build the blast furnace there in 1762, the first one in connecti-

[47] Rudd, p. 11; *Lure*, VII, iv, 18. Deacon Hezekiah Camp had come from New Haven in 1746; he had 5 sons. Church, pp. 57, 78.

[48] *Century Dictionary*, Vol. X, *Atlas* index, 1902. This atlas, 1st ed. 1897, has in quality not been equalled since by any Americam publisher.

[49] L. Fagan, *Map of Salisbury*, 1853; Clark and Tackabury *Conn.* map, 1859; Russ, p. 23.

[50] Church, p. 56.

[51] Rudd, p. 17.

cut.[52] This iron ore supplied cannon during the Revolution, the chain across the Hudson, and on Mount Riga was forged the great anchor for the frigate "Constitution;" the Civil War encouraged the industry, which was kept alive by the superior quality of its iron until the Bessemer process enabled good steel to be made out of poorer ores.[53] In this connection Hammertown, north of Taconic, was named as the site of the once busy H. Harris Scythe Works,[54] and may give a clue to the origin of the names of the places called Bangall in Connecticut and New York.

It seems fitting to conclude these notations on some of Salisbury's place names with The Terminus, the monument at that corner of the town where Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New York meet. The name perhaps was given by boundary surveying parties to indicate the end toward which they worked. Monument Brook flows from Monument Mountain in New York, whose name indicates the same junction. This is a wild and inaccessible region. Hell's Acres, a thousand-acre triangle nearby, was supposed to be in Massachusetts, but could only be reached through New York or Connecticut, hence Massachusetts officers could not legally take criminals out, and it became a kind of underworld sanctuary, until January 3, 1955, when it was ceded to New York State and the name changed to sedate Boston Corner. One hundred and two years before, the John Sullivan-John Morrisy prizefight was held here in order to be outside of any legal jurisdiction. The farmers used to gather about the general-store stove and decide their own taxes, according to crop production. And not far away a Central New England train was completely buried in the blizzard of 1988.[55]

[52] *Salis. Assoc.* I, 142; Moldenke, R., *Charcoal Iron.* Lime Rock, 1920, p. 12; Goddard, p. 10. For the iron industry see also L. F. Middlebrook, *Salisbury, Connecticut, Cannon.* Salem, Mass., 1935; Barnum Richardson Co., *Salisbury Iron.* Salisbury, Conn., 1878.

[53] *Conn., A Guide,* pp. 417–20.

[54] Goddard, p. 11.

[55] *Lure of the Litchfield Hills,* VIII, iv, 27, and XIII, iv, p. 26 (June, 1956).

List of Place-Names in Salisbury, Connecticut

Amesville, and A. Brook (Horatio Ames, c. 1852)
Asylum School District (poorhouse) 1820.
Beaver Dam Pond
Bend, The
Bingham Ore Bed, Pond, and Pond Brook (three B. brothers, c. 1750)
Blakeslee Hill
Bluff, The
Bostwick Hill (R. B., c. 1853)
Brace Mountain, or Mount Brace
Bradley Ore Bed
Bridge School District (named from Burralls Bridge; 1853 map)
Brook Hill (south of Wachocastinook Brook)
Buck Mountain
Bull's Forge (1781)
Burralls Bridge (1744)
Burton Brook (Simeon B., c. 1742)
Bushnell Grove (George B., c. 1899)
Canaan Falls
Cave Hill (site of Miles Cave)
Cedars, The (camp)
Center Cemetery (1750)
Chapin Furnace
Chatfield Mine, Pond (pond on site of mine originally owned by Philip C.)
Chatfield-Fitch Ore Bed
Christopher's Canoe Place (Christopher Dutcher, 1738)
Clark Cobble, or The Cobble
Crooked Lake
Davis Hill, Mine, or Ore Bed (Jacobus D., c. 1780)
Deep Lake (= Chatfield Pond, on mine site)
Factory Brook, Pond
Falls Bridge, School District, Kill, Mountain, Mountain Brook, Village (all from the Great Falls in the Housatonic River)
Fels Kill*
Fisher Pond
Fitch Corner
Frissell Mountain, or Mount Frizzell
Furnace Hill (first furnace for cast iron here, 1762)
Garnett Brook
Goodwin Summit (Samuel G., 1755)
Gentlemen's Driving Park (1890 to 1910)
Grass Pond (1899 map)
Great Falls, Hollow
Gridley Mountain (Noah G., 1764)
Gulf, The (deep narrow valley of Wachocastinook Brook)
Hanging Rock (1936)
Harrison School District (1820)
Hendrick's Ore Bed
Holley Grove (Alexander H. H., Gov. of Conn., 1857–58)
Hotchkiss School (Benjamin Berkeley H., 1892)
Housatonic Falls
Indian Cave, Mountain (named from Indian settlement on Indian Lake), Orchard, Ore Bed (on Indian Mountain)
Jonesville (mistake for Joyceville ?)
Joyceville (John D. J., c. 1859)
Kelsey Brook (Kelsey was a railroad stop, 1857)
Kettle, The
King Falls (Eli K., had sons Zardis and Eli, 1786, 1789)
Kisnop Brook (variant of Schenob Brook)

Lake View (1885)
Limestone Caves, Spring
Lincoln City
Little Falls (upstream from Great Falls)
Long Pond (contrast with nearby square pond)
Lottery Bridge (1790–1808); built through lottery granted by General Assembly)
Lower Reservoir
Mammoth Pit (on Old Hill Ore Grant)
Matogue (1885; error for Weatogue?)
McDuffee Brook
Middle Pond (the middle lake of three on Long Pond Brook)
Miles Cave (called the longest in New England)
Mineral Spring
Moore Meadow (Samuel Moore settled here (1743)
Mountain Grove Cemetery
Moving Stones
Mulberry Spring (modern name on Appalachian Trail)
Natural Stone House
New Cemetery (bought by town, 1830)
Norton Hill (Norton or Norten a common mid-18th Century family name)
Oak Hill (community, 1885)
Oblong, The (two hills just west of tri-state junction, but not in the Oblong strip along west border of Connecticut granted to New York for Greenwich)
Paquatnach ("bare mountain place" so called by Moravians; cf. Poconnuck)
Perch Rocks (near corner of Lake Wononskopomuc, 1899)
Pettee Brook (Sarah Pettit married 1749; a Pettee was manufacturing iron, 1823–36)
Picnic Grove (a stop on the Central New England Railroad)
Pierce Brook (Thomas P. an original proprietor, 1738; Sarah Pers married, 1763)
Pine Swamp
Poconnuck Mountain (= Indian Mountain; probably from *poquannoc* "cleared land," a common Connecticut place name; Poquatnach, a form of the same word, was on or near Poconnuck Mountain)
Ponsumpsie (mistake for Ponsumpsic? in an old Indian deed)
Porter Meadows, Ore Bed
Prospect Falls, Mountain or Hill (overlooking the Housatonic valley)
Raccoon Hill
Rand's View (Appalachian Trail)
Reed Cemetery
Reservoir (for Lakeville)
Round Mountain (descriptive), Pond (a broadened part of South Pond)
Sages Brook, Ravine ("Mr. S. of S. R. had a poltergeist in his house, with hundreds of witnesses," 1802)
Scoville Ore Bed
Selleck Hill (Common mid-18th Century family name; a S. farm here)
Sharon Mountain (mostly in Sharon)

Sheep Rock
Sherwood Forest (Appalachian Trail, probably modern name)
Sloane, Camp
Smith Hill (Richard Smith, before the Revolution)
South Pond (south of North Pond = Riga Lake)
Spruce Swamp, Brook or Creek
State Line (community; station on railroad now abandoned), Brook
Stone Terrace
Sucker Brook
Station (one mile south)
Thorpe Mountain
Ticknor School District (family name, 1762, 1786)
Under Mountain Road School District (road runs for many miles at eastern foot of western hill range to Sheffield, Mass.)
Union Pit (site of present Chatfield Pond)
Upper Falls (above the Great Falls)
Warner Grove, Park (the park a memorial for M. B. C. Warner, 1847–1901; the park not the same location as the grove)
Washinee Road borders Wachocastinook Brook; not near the lake
wadchu "mountain"
Whittlesey School District (Ebenezer, W., an original proprietor, 1738)
Wildwood (1899 map)
Willard's Grove (Appalachian Trail, modern name)

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Sputnik and Some of Its Offshootniks

ARTHUR MINTON

On October 4, 1957 a man-made earth satellite was put into orbit by the Soviet Union, and on November 3 a second, larger satellite was put into course. It is reported that the Soviets called the first satellite *Sputnik* and that this name is an abbreviation of *Iskustvennyi Sputnik Zemli*, translated "Artificial Fellow Traveler Around the Earth."[1] Almost immediately after the first launching the word *Sputnik* (or *sputnik*, the form that will be used in discussion here) came into wide use in English.[2]

Ten weeks or so after the orbiting of the first satellite and its cognomen, Clarence L. Barnhart announced that *sputnik* would be included in the 1958 *Thorndike-Barnhart Comprehensive Desk Dictionary*, with the definition "An earth satellite." A newspaper report of this lexicographical event referred to the entry of *sputnik* as "the fastest acceptance and into-dictionary print ever recorded by a foreign word."[3] Thus with the launching of the satellite the Soviets achieved not only a scientific triumph but (possibly more to their surprise) a philological coup in the penetration of English and other languages by *sputnik*.

On the radio I hear *sputnik* usually pronounced ['spʌtnɪk], occasionally ['spʊtnɪk]. One announcer said ['šputnɪk].

[1] *Every Week* (Middletown, Conn.), Oct. 21–25, 1957, p. 50/1.

[2] Even more, according to one source, "The word sputnik has entered every language." ("The News of the Week in Review," New York *Times*, Nov. 10, 1957, p. E 1/1).

[3] John G. Rogers, "Sputnik Soars Into Type In a U.S. Dictionary," New York *Herald Tribune*, Dec. 18, 1957, p. 17/1–2. Also reported in this news story were the views of two other lexicographers, David Guralnik of *Webster's New World Dictionary* and S. Stephenson Smith of Funk & Wagnalls. Both seemed to hope or expect that *sputnik* would be entered in 1958 editions of their dictionaries. They expressed uncertainty whether the word would be listed as a lower-case generic term or an upper-case name for either of the orbiting satellites.

The word was soon used in combinations. The first satellite came to be called Sputnik I, the second Sputnik II.[4] A new, stiffer stand on the part of the Soviet Union became known as sputnik diplomacy.[5] In at least one periodical Russia was referred to as Sputnik Land.[6] A sense that the orbiting of the first sputniks marked the beginning of some sort of new era is reflected in the terms *post-Sputnik* and *pre-Sputnik*;[7] the adjective *after-sputnik* is also recorded.[8] A session of Congress was said to be called the "Sputnik Congress."[9] The impact of the satellites was definitively summed up in *the Sputnik Age*.[10]

The rapid widespread employment of *sputnik* was surely due to something more than the sensational character of the object denoted by the word. An impression or two as to the nature of that "something more" may be worth giving. The word *sputnik*, then, has - or had, when it first burst on the hearing and sight of Americans – a somewhat humorous quality. To many persons it might appear to be a tidbit of dialect comedy; and indeed a similar syllable, represented in Roman characters as *-nick*, has a place in such a

[4] For both terms see, e.g., "Sputnik I Rocket Is Seen Here," New York *Herald Tribune*, Nov. 25, 1957, p. 3/2.

[5] Details of this diplomatic posture are given in "Soviet Exploits Its New 'Sputnik Diplomacy'" by Harry Schwartz, New York *Times*, Oct. 20, 1957, p. 4 E/1–4. An embroidering of the theme is seen in the title of an article by Gertrude Samuels, "Russia's Smile-and-Sputnik Diplomats." *New York Times Magazine*, Dec. 1, 1957, p. 26.

[6] (Heading) "Russia Today;" (subhead) "A Visit to Sputnik Land," *Current Events* (Middletown, Conn.), Nov. 4–8, 1957, p. 68.

[7] The first of these was used in, e.g., "Roscoe Drummond Reports," New York *Herald Tribune*, Nov. 25, 1957, p. 19/1–2. This column had the subject heading "Post-Sputnik Washington Has New Mood Of Urgency." The first sentence of the text proper also referred to "post-Sputnik Washington." An adverbial use of *post-Sputnik* was found in an editorial, "Nixon and the Crisis," *ibid.*, Dec. 3, 1957: "He has defeated the pinch-penny economizers, who, even post-Sputnik, are still..." In "Workable ICBM Seen in 2 Years" (*ibid.*, Dec. 18, 1957, p. 1/3) Rowland Evans Jr. mentioned "pre-Sputnik cuts in the Strategic Air Command."

[8] "The 'after-sputnik' story of the United States missile program was a mixture of success and failure." (*Our Times* [Middletown, Conn.] Jan. 6–10, 1958, p. 109/2).

[9] "This session now being called the 'Sputnik Congress' may produce a lot of political sputtering." (*Life*, Jan. 13, 1958, p. 20).

[10] Editorial, "Any One for Shakespeare?," New York *Herald Tribune*, Jan. 27, 1958.

Yiddish word as *nudnick*, "tedious fellow,"[11] and in the humorous Yiddish-American word *nogoodnick*, applied to a qualifying person.[12] As to the first syllable of *sputnik*, it may suggest *sputter*.[13] Nor is some association with *spud* to be ruled out; the satellite would be conceived, rightly or wrongly, as a round or rounded object – that is, in shape somewhat like a potato.

When *sputnik* was thrown into the wear and tear of wide employment, one possibility that shortly came to the fore, in at least one source, was the reduction of the word to *Sputty*. Thus the headline, "British Say Sputty Is 160 Miles Up."[14] And the third-stage rocket that orbited separately from Sputnik I was called *Sput Junior* in a headline.[15] But besides any other qualifications, *sputnik* possesses a "suffix"[16] that lends itself to new formations, and such formations have been abundantly in evidence. The following have come to my notice:

MOUSENIK. 1958 New York *Herald Tribune* 1 Jan. Sec. 2, pp. 6/7 (UP) (headline) Boys' "Mousenik" Gets Off Ground – But Not Far (text) Eleven high school boys and a Roman Catholic nun finally managed to fire their "mousenik" rocket today, but with an artificial mouse. [A previous rocket had contained a live mouse.] *Ibid.* 4 Jan. pp. 3/7 (AP) (headline) Humane Society Gets Writ To

[11] Alexander Harkavy, *Yiddish-English [and English-Yiddish] Dictionary*, 22nd ed. (New York, 195–). For assistance in locating this reference I am indebted to an aide in the Jewish Division of the New York Public Library.

[12] Someone who knows the subject may do the service of discussing other Yiddish or Yiddish-American formations in *-nick*, and the etymology of that syllable.

[13] Further substantiation of this point seems to reside in the quotation from *Life*, in note 9. Also, after the unsuccessful United States attempt to launch a satellite on December 6, 1957, Viscount Rothermere is said to have remarked that the United States "wound up with the sput without the nik." ("Rothermere: 'Sput,' No 'Nik,'" New York *Herald Tribune*, Dec. 7, 1957, p. 2/4). In his column "Along Madison Avenue with Kaselow" (*ibid.*, Jan. 28, 1958), Joseph Kaselow wrote, "The campaign (Grey Advertising) will be launched in March, and we hope it takes off better than most of the sputter-nicks in Cape Canaveral."

[14] New York *Daily News*, Oct. 11, 1957, p. 2/5.

[15] "Connecticut Team Sees Sput Junior," *ibid.*, Oct. 11, 1957, p. 2/4–5; also, "Something Is Tugging at Sput Jr.," *ibid.*, Oct. 16, 1957, p. 10/1–3.

[16] As a matter of convenience and because of the quasi-suffixial use of *-nik* in English coinages, I refer to *-nik* as a suffix, but without knowing whether the syllable is rightly so describable in Russian.

Stop Boys' "Mousenik" (text) The Humane Society today obtained a temporary court order restraining youthful Austin [Minn.] Rocket Society from using live mice in its "mousenik" space experiments.

WHATNIK. 1957 New York Daily News 7 Nov. p. 5/2–4 (UP) (headline) Whatniks Over Us? Science Grins (text) Scientists today wrote off the rash of "whatnik" sightings as tricks of vision or mirages...

Reports of more strange, unidentified flying objects zooming about the skies came from...

SPACENIK. 1957 New York *Daily News* 8 Nov. p. 18/1 (AP) (headline) Query Sanity of Spacenik [The story dealt with the filing in Kearney, Neb., of a "mental-illness complaint" against a man who claimed to have "visited a space ship parked on the banks of the Platte River and chatted with its crew for about a half hour before the ship rose and vanished."]

MUTTNIK. 1957 New York *Daily News* 8 Nov. p. K2/1 (letter from Frances Castellani) This deep concern over the dog in Muttnik is one big howl! [Sputnik II had been dubbed Muttnik in some quarters because that satellite carried a female dog. I am told that the same satellite has also been called Bitchnik.]

REBUTNIK. 1957 New York *Daily News* 20 Nov. p. 45/3 ("The Inquiring Fotographer"; response by Joseph A. Holl to the question, "What name would you suggest for the first U.S. earth satellite?") Since Sputnik was mostly a propaganda vehicle, I'd name ours Rebutnik and crowd it with more scientific gadgets.

SPOOFNIK. 1957 New York *Herald Tribune* 23 Nov. p. *3/8* (UP) (headline) Spoofnik Found In W. Germany – Even Has "Beep" [Report of the finding of a spurious sputnik]

SPUTNIK-PEANUTNIK. 1957 New York *Daily News* 26 Nov. (Editorial, "Just Give Us the Facts") [Sen. Lyndon B.] Johnson also hopes to keep this inquiry nonpolitical – and incidentally, isn't there some way to keep both Harry Truman and the Republican National Committee from playing sputnik-peanutnik politics,[17] at least for a while?

[17] *The American Thesaurus of Slang*, 2nd. ed. (1953) defines peanut politics (Sec. 858.1) as "petty or corrupt politics."

GOOFNIK; STALLNIK; LATENIK (*SPAETNIK*[18]); WHEN-NIK; IF-NIK; OOPS-NIK; GOOFNIK. 1957 New York *Herald Tribune* 7 Dec. (heading of an editorial) Goofnik Blows Up (text) On Thursday, after the much-ballyhooed United States satellite firing was postponed again, a Mexico City paper began referring to it as a "Stallnik." In Vienna, the anti-Communist "Welt Presse" dubbed it a "Latenik" (Spaetnik) . . . .

But on Friday, when Latenik blew up in the face of its makers, the American people scarcely knew whether to cry or to laugh . . . . By mid-afternoon the irrepressible American character had asserted itself on the laughing side. New names were being offered on all sides: "When-nik," "Ifnik," "Oops-nik," and perhaps the aptest one of all, simply "Goofnik."

ENOUGHNIK; KAPUTNIK; STAY-PUTNIK; FLOPNIK; PUFFNIK; PHUTNIK. 1957 New York *Times* 8 Dec. p. 36/4 (headline) Enoughnik of This (text) Headlines in the British newspapers reflected public feeling on the failure of the [U.S.] rocket [fired on Dec. 6]. New words were coined by headline writers as follows: [list] Kaputnik — Daily Express. Stay-Putnik — News Chronicle. Flopnik[19] — Daily Herald. Puffnik — Daily Mail. Phutnik — Daily Mirror and Daily Sketch.

HUTNIK; BUTNIK; DOTNIK; PUTNIK; PHUTNIK; YUTNIK. [A large placard in the lobby of the Central Branch of the Young Men's Christian Association, 55 Hanson Place, Brooklyn, N.Y., seen Nov. 21, 1957, listed, under the heading "Division Leadership," the names of persons engaged in the Central Branch's 1958 financial campaign. Preceding each personal name (or in some cases two names) was the name of one of the "divisions" in reference. Each such division name was followed by a raised dot (or dash in one case) and then by a formation in *-nik*. Thus: Special Gifts · "Sputnik;" House Dept. · "Hutnik;" Business · "Butnik;" Dormitory · "Dotnik;" Physical — "Putnik;" Program · "Prutnik;" Youth · "Yutnik."]

[18] An Associated Press dispatch from Vienna had reported that "Several non-Communist papers here have taken to calling the American satellite the 'Spaetnik,' which in German means late Sputnik." ("U.S. 'Moon' Hangs Low In Eyes of Foreigners," New York *Herald Tribune*, Dec. 6, 1957, p. 8/3–4). It appears that English is not the only language in which the combinatory powers of *-nik* are realized.

[19] A dispatch from Moscow, dated December 8, stated that "Some papers spoke of a 'flopnik.'" ("Soviet Press Still Jeers 'Flopnik,'" *ibid.*, Dec. 9, 1957, p. 2/8).

SPOTNIK. 1957 [*Our Times* (Middletown, Conn.), Dec. 2–6, reproduced (p. 89) a cartoon by Burck in the Chicago *Sun-Times* (date not specified) showing a presumptive President Eisenhower at the bedside of a sick NATO, who is saying, "I Keep Seeing Spotniks Before My Eyes." Two earth satellites are orbiting above the patient.]

SPEEDNIK. 1958 *Current Events* (Middletown, Conn.) 6- 10 Jan. p. 106 (pict. cap.) Speednik – Russia claims another "first" for this plane, the TU-114.

The dynamism of *sputnik* has been evidenced, then, not only in its quick apparent establishment in the English vocabulary, but by the combinations in which it has appeared and in the changes that have been rung on it. The whole word has appeared in such combinations as *Sputnik I*, *Sputnik II*, *post-Sputnik*, *pre-Sputnik*, and *sputnik diplomacy*. A number of new formations, most of them probably humorous nonce words, have been created by the replacement of *sput-* with some other element. The surrogate element is usually an established English word ("established" here including slang). The qualifier "usually" because of the special situation presented by the examples from the Y.M.C.A. placard. In those examples the initial syllable of each formation is based on the initial phoneme(s) of the name of the division in reference - or on the letter(s) representing the phoneme(s). And although the written form of each of the resulting syllables has been recorded as an English word, none of the resultants, taken as a word, seems to be used with established meaning. To take an extreme example, it can hardly be imagined that *Yutnik*, for the Youth Division, has in view *yut* as an obsolete variant of *yet*.

Most of the neologisms seem to be names, as *Sputnik* seems to have been in its Russian beginnings and in its first employments in English. The attributive uses of *sputnik* (or of combinations involving *sputnik*) is one aspect of the extension of *sputnik* beyond name status. A further functional extension has been noted in the adverbial use of *post-sputnik*. But it is probably the widespread use of *sputnik* as a generic term that operates most strongly against a solely onomastic status for the word.

New Milford, Connecticut

Antwort an Hans Kuhn: Abwehr seines Angriffs auf meine *Deutsche Namenkunde.* Von Adolph Bach. Bonn, 1956. Pp. 53.

Bach's *Deutsche Namenkunde* (vol. 1–4, Heidelberg, 1952–54), one of the masterpieces in the field of onomastic research, has deservedly met with abundant praise and approval in reviews by all competent scholars except one, Professor Hans Kuhn at the University of Kiel, who in his lengthy review registers various more or less fundamental reservations (*Anzeiger f. dt. Altert.* 68. 145 ff.). Some of Kuhn's critical comments have already been convincingly refuted by Bach (*Zs. f. dt. Altert.* 87. 142), but in this booklet the latter subjects nearly all the negative remarks of his intrepid critic to searching discussion, the tenor of which can be read out of most of the exclamational chapter headlines, e.g., "Profil eines Rezensenten" (I), "Mit den Fingerspitzen, nicht den Fäusten!" (III), "Üb immer Treu und Redlichkeit!" (VI). After what amounts to a wholesale exposure of Kuhn's presumed scholarly deficiencies, a number of selected friendly statements about Bach's *Dt. Namenkunde* and (illogically) *Dt. Mundartforschung* are appended (pp. 52–53), evidently in order to lend a certain measure of respectability to the vitriolic attack.

To review the review of a review and thus help keep the deplorable chain reaction going, as it were, does not seem appropriate in this case. I have carefully read Kuhn's critique, and not without sporadic approval, although I am forced to admit that in a considerable number of paragraphs some needlessly adverse statements do occur. Still, it is a serious reviewer's task as well as his privilege to state his own opinion about a given work, and Bach's private, excessively polemical refutation must be regarded as an unfortunate, not altogether successful, attempt at discrediting a scholar whose hypotheses and theories do not harmonize with one's own. Kuhn's overstatements have surely been noted by readers of his review, and the brow-raising and head-shaking which it has no doubt occasioned in learned circles would seem to be "punishment" enough. The rather personal insults hurled by a great scholar against his antagonist are of course of no scientific interest whatsoever, and

since most of the substantial (though not always conclusive) evidence adduced by Bach in support of his own theories has been adequately stated elsewhere, the present book can safely be left unread by students of onomastics. In my opinion, the scientific study of names can only profit by such critical restatement and revaluation of important problems as Kuhn's, unpleasant though this type of ruthless scrutiny may be to the scholar on whose cherished ideas it bears.

University of Bergen Bjarne Ulvestad

Indian Place Names in Vermont. By John C. Huden. (Privately Printed [Lane Press] Burlington, Vt. 1957. 32 Pages. Paper).

This work opens with two and a-half interesting pages on the origin and general characteristics of early Vermont's Indian place names. It closes with seven pages of commentary on a French map of Vermont (1713), an account of "Indian Groups in Vermont," and a description of Indian and French trails through Vermont from 1500 to 1760. Half a page is given to an Abnaki legend on the origin of *Head's Island.* The twenty-two pages in between deal with 162 Algonquian place names, and 54 Iroquoian place names. The names are arranged in an alphabetical list of Vermont townships.

Thus, within twenty-two pages, Mr. Huden discusses 216 Indian place names, an average of almost ten names to a page. In most cases the author has omitted pronunciations, map spellings, previous opinions, dictionary references and grammatical analyses. For the "Algonkian"[1] names, he has depended upon Stephen Laurent, an Abnaki chief, and for the Iroquoian names, upon Charles A. Cooke, of Ontario. The foregoing omissions, however, make it difficult to regard Mr. Huden's etymologies as decisive. His own role appears to be largely that of a compiler.

[1] Abbreviations: *Beauchamp,* Aboriginal Place Names of New York (1907); *Bloomfield,* "Algonquian" *in* Linguistic Structures of Native America (N.Y., 1946); *Cuoq,* Lexique de la Langue Iroquoise (1882); Douglas-Lithgow (*D-L*), Dictionary of American Indian Place ... Names in New England (1909); *Jos. Laurent,* New Familiar Abenakis and English Dialogues (1884); *PA,* Proto-Algonquian; *Rasles* Dictionary of the Abnaki Language, in North America (1833); *Sealock,* Bibliography of Place Name Literature ... (Chicago, 1948); *Tooker,* Indian Place Names on Long Island (N.Y., 1911); *Roy,* Noms Geographiques de la Province de Quebec (Levis, 1906).

Mr. Huden could have looked beyond Stephen Laurent and Charles A. Cooke for the meanings he gives. There is Cuoq's Iroquoian *Lexique*; and *Rasles* would have enabled him to verify his Abnaki stems. *Beauchamp* has about five Indian place names that are found in Vermont. *D-L* lists 96 Vermont Indian place names, and gives cursory meanings for twenty-three of them. McAleer, Rouillard and *Roy* could have been cited on *Missisquoi* (see *Sealock*). But there is too little space.

Though the arrangement of the entries under townships makes it difficult to find the Indian names alphabetically, this gives Mr. Huden headings under which to list, besides Algonquian and Iroquoian place names, certain English names which – by folk etymology or even translation – may have come from the Indian. It is not always clear just how these English names are related to their Indian equivalents. How, for instance, is *Owl's Head Harbor*, Addison Township, related to "*Wal-oi-as muh-dup*, literally 'owl's head'"? Did the settlers know enough Abnaki to translate the Indian phrase? Is *waloias mdup* (*Jos. Laurent* "owl head") plausible Abnaki in view of the highly inflected, polysynthetic nature of most Algonquian place names? The Indians, of course, could have interpreted the name for the settlers; it could be a translation from the French (which does not solve the problem); or the place itself could have suggested *Owl's Head* to both Indians and whites.

Mr. Huden states (p. 2) that "Aboriginal place names are generally simple descriptives" (e.g., *Big Island*). This remark is not in keeping with the inflected, polysynthetic nature of the Algonquian languages. Indeed, Mr. Huden's own translations ("At the place of...," "Where such-and-such is, or happens, or is the case," "It is a ...," etc.) frequently gainsay his statement. Where it looks as though *Big Island* is a correct translation of an Algonquian name, it is likely that the Algonquian name is a mistreated fragment of an earlier, fully inflected form whose endings have been lost. Mr. Huden's Iroquoian forms seem more complete grammatically than the Algonquian. Since there is no reason to believe that Algonquian place names were not as fully inflected as Iroquoian, one wonders how some of these Iroquoian forms arose. Is Iroquoian *Tyon-tkaen-yon-tha* (*The Lookout Place*) from a map or record? Is *The Lookout Place* a translation? What settlers knew Iroquoian so well? These are questions one wishes Mr. Huden had answered.

The author's phonetic explanations are sometimes insufficient. How (except by misprint or misreading) does *Kulhegan* (cf. *Jos. Laurent* klahigan "a wooden trap") become Nulhegan? How can *Waloomsac* be gotten from the contraction of *Wallas-teg-ak*? In several cases, Mr. Huden suggests phonetic differences that do not seem to exist: for *Hoosik* he gives "Round kettle," "At the kettle rim"; but for *Hoosac* he gives "Stone-place." Surely these are one and the same word.

This brings us to a certain dualism, perhaps caused by the author's passive role of compiler. Thus he indicates that *Monadnock* has two derivations, one from *Menan-aden-ock* "Island-mountain-place," and the other from *Monnaie* (French) *-aden-ock* "Silver-mountain-place." For *Ascutney*, another example, Mr. Huden has a derivation from *Cas-cump-ek* ("bold," "steep"), a derivation from *K'ask-aden-auk* ("At the mountain with steep sides"), and a derivation from *Ascu-teg-nik* ("At the end of the river fork"). There appears, however, to be only one Ascutney; it is likely that it can have but one meaning. The same is true of Bomoseen: Mr. Huden, however, gives the two different meanings "Big pond with grassy banks" and "Keepers of the ceremonial fire."

Mere assertion is especially insufficient for names whose meanings have been disputed. Mr. Huden gives "Onion land" for *Winooski*; *D-L* gives "Beautiful river." Mr. Huden gives "Great pond place" for *Memphremagog* (*Jos. Laurent* "Long & large sheet of water"); *D-L* gives "Beautiful water," "Lake of abundance." For *Missisquoi*, *D-L* gives "Big woman," whereas Mr. Huden has the two different meanings "Much good marsh grass here" and "Where there is much flint." *Jos. Laurent* gives only the last. These contradictory etymologies call for discussion and choice.

There are some questionable definitions. One wonders why Mr. Huden derives *Pisgah* from an Abnaki word (*Pis gaah* "dark" [*Jos. Laurent*?]) when another near by mountain seems to have the Biblical name *Hor* (mod. Heb. *har*). One wonders, further, how *Seneca Mt.* can be "probably Iroquoian." *Ohio River* means "Beautiful river" rather than "Big river" (*Cuoq*, 159–60). *Jamaica* (p. 14) is not discussed as a Vermont Indian name, but *Tooker* shows that it can sometimes be derived from Algonquian "beaver." Mr. Huden gives but one translation of *Manhattan* ("The Island Place"); *Beauchamp*, however, lists at least five different meanings – Took-

er's, for example, is "The hill island." The author derives *Wicopy* from Delaware "long hill" or Natick "at the good water." But is this not *wicopy* "basswood" (Webster), an Algonquian word whose *PA* prototype was established by *Bloomfield* as **wiikopyi*, with reflexes in Fox (*wiikopi*), Menominee (*weekop*) and Ojibwa (*wiikop*)? Mr. Huden describes Manchester's *Mt. Equinox* as (p. 15) "Perhaps a fake Indian name..." *Equinox* is a folk etymology from, e.g., *Ekwanok*. And *Ekwanok* or *Akwanok*, referred to by maps and atlases since 1840 as *Equinox Mountain*, is a real Indian name which Father James A. Geary[2] maintains to have come from local Algonquian stems and to mean "It is all the way to the top," "It is quite the top." The stems (on the pattern of Fox and Ojibwa) appear to be *ahkw-* "as far as," "up to," "at the end" PLUS *anahk-* "top." "end" PLUS *-at-* "it is." This final *-at-* is probably the *-ut* of Connectic-*ut* "*It is* a long tidal river."

The most interesting side of Mr. Huden's study is the list of folk etymologies it suggests. *Chimney* in *Chimney Point* may be from Algonquian *Chemaun Nay*aug; *Madagascar* appears to have developed from a compound containing *Ma-to-gu-as*; *Tommy Squatter* arose, apparently, from *Tee-min-iskwattam* (cf. *Temiskaming*, Canada). *Mad River* seems to have come from *Madi Tegu* – but it is not clear whether Mr. Huden thinks that *Tegu* (*Jos. Laurent* (*t*)*tegw* "river") was translated, though it is evident that the settlers did not know the English meaning of *Madi* (cf. *Jos. Laurent maji* "bad," "mean"). Other intriguing folk creations are *Ticklenaked Pond* from *Taugamochek*; *No-Damn-Goodick* (Mr. Huden's recollection; cf. Abnaki *No-dam-agon-gan*); and *Sobigwil-low* from *So-bagwil-ha*. Mr. Huden suggests (p. 26) that the French, when they spelled *Winooski River* "R. Ouisnouski," saw in their word "yes, we, river." Is it not more likely that this is simply a French phonetic spelling?

One must commend Mr. Huden for seeking the help of Indian-speaking translators, such as Stephen Laurent, and for studying

[1] Throughout his study, Mr. Huden makes indiscriminate use of the term "Algonkian." It is therefore difficult, in some cases, to know whether he means general Algonquian or that separate and special Algonquian language known as *Algonkin*. How, for instance, is one to interpret his words (p. 15) "Abnaki *tuk* 'river' or Algonkian *tig* 'tree'"?

[2] See his analysis in a tourist leaflet entitled *Equinox Skyline Drive Manchester Vermont*.

the Iroquoian and Algonquian place names together. His monograph acquaints the reader with a number of names heretofore unnoticed, and his three clearly-printed maps give to those names "a local habitation." The study is an additional step towards the broader investigation of all American Indian place names. The folk etymologies are especially curious. Indeed, though he allows himself little space, Mr. Huden has amassed much valuable lore about the Vermont Indians who charged "the water and the land" with names.

Franconia, New Hampshire Hamill Kenny

Editor's Page

The editor wishes to take this opportunity to express his gratitude to the following persons, who have been sending him clippings and other currently published material of interest to onomatologists. All this material is on file in the editorial offices, and some of it will be commented on from time to time in this department.

Mamie J. Meredith, Lincoln, Nebraska
Louise Magaw Ackerman, Lincoln, Nebraska
Kenneth E. Crouch, Badford, Virginia.

With the last issue Professor David W. Reed of the Department of English, University of California, Berkeley takes over the duties of Managing Editor. The editor wishes to express to Mrs. Elizabeth K. Gudde, the retiring Managing Editor, his sincere appreciation for the expert advice and assistance she has given him during the past year.

Wide publicity for the work the American Name Society is doing was given in the article, "The Names We Go By," by J. C. Furnas, which appeared in the Saturday Evening Post for December 28, 1957, pp. 36 ff.

A NOTE ON PLACE NAMES IN NEW ENGLAND

When is a "Street" not a Street?

The answer, suggested by Edward Everett Hale, is that in New England it may be a hamlet or settlement, usually isolated in a rural area, and designating a group of houses around a store, school or perhaps a church.

Following up this thought, in connection with a study of road names in rural Wilton, Connecticut, I found that the Beers Atlas of 1867[1] in fact designates one of the ten school districts in that town by the name "Hurlbutt Street". The principal settlement in the district then as now meets the above description. Since at least 1909[2] however the name has been applied to the town road that runs through the settlement.

A similar group of houses grouped around a store was located, before 1900 on or near a road disused and almost abandoned for many years, but now known as "Chicken Street." A search of 18th century land records however developed references to houses "at a place known by the name of Chicken Street" (1798)[3] and "at a place called Chicken Street" (1797)[4], and finally (1800)[5] a reference to "Chicken Street road, so called." When this road was opened up again in the 1930s the people who moved in sometimes objected to the name, not were they placated by the antiquarians who pointed out that the name was derived from Wilton's last Indian Chief, one Chi-ken, said to have lived in those parts.[6] Curiously enough, residents on another old road have never objected to the name "Skunk Lane"; perhaps because this name appears still earlier (1730)[7] as "Skunk Hole."

Other references are perhaps inconclusive. There is no evidence that until after 1940 there was ever in Wilton a row of houses with party walls, or even separated by alleys. In short, there was never

[1] Atlas of New York & Vicinity... by F. W. Beers. N.Y. 1867.

[2] Map of the Town of Wilton prepared by C. N. Wood. 1909. (Wilton Historical Society collection.) [3] 19 Norwalk Land Records 37; 20 N.L.R. 282.

[4] 18 N.L.R. 313. [5] 19 N.L.R. 171.

[6] But see J. W. DeForest, History of the Indians of Connecticut ... p. 357ff. Hartford, 1853 (who says he lived further North in Redding). [7] 7 N.L.R. 45.

a citified area with paved streets. However, in an isolated area we find a "Mather Street", now a country road with a group of workers' houses on it, and in nearby even-more-rural Weston we find a "Godfrey Street." However, in some of the old Wilton Deeds (1753, 1761)[8] we find a mention of land "on the Town Street, near the Meeting House." It would be interesting to know what this old conveyancer had in mind.

At least one other New England State had the same usage. In Walling's Atlas of New Hampshire (1877)[9] "Conway Street" apparently designates the name of a place consisting of two rows of houses, one on either side of a country road. The lettering is the same as that used for nearby "Conway Centre." I find no mention of the place in the Century and later Atlases; in fact, in the automobile maps the area is blank. Stowell Rounds

[8] 10 N.L.R. 411; 11 N.L.R. 532.

[9] H. F. Walling. Atlas of the State of New Hampshire ... New York, Comstock & Cline. 1877.

FAUBUS

In *Names*, vol. 5, no. 4, p. 225 an explanation of *Faubus* is mentioned, and confused with a Jewish family name. *Faubus* is no Jewish name, but a peasant name; and it seems to belong to such names as *Piso* "vetch-man," *Porcius* "pig-breeder," *Cicero* "pea-man," and last but not least *Fabius* "bean-man." Cf. Brechenmacher, Deutsches Namenbuch, p. 217. Max Markrich

TORMENTER HARSLETT

Years ago in South Australia there was a leading steeplechase jockey who rejoiced in the name of Candy Harslett. He had won every hurdle and steeplechase race of note in South Australia and Victoria, some more than once, but the famous Oakbank Steeplechase consistently eluded him. So eager was this famous jockey to capture this event that he swore that if ever the honor would be his he would call his firstborn child after his successful mount. After many attempts Harslett eventually succeeded on "Tormenter." True to his word he subsequently named his firstborn, a girl, Tormenter Harslett. Surely this a most unusual name for a girl.

Barney H. Warren

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR 1957

Income

Dues collected in 1957	$ 3204.50
Sale of copies of *Names*	253.85
Sale of Pulgram pamphlet	12.00
Sale of reprints from *Names*	8.80
Contributions	132.50
	$ 3611.65
Balance carried forward from 1956	654.16
	$ 4265.81

Expenditures

Printing of *Names*	$ 2500.00
Mailing and Bank charges	136.77
Printing of promotion literature	117.53
Office expenses of President, Editor, and Exec. Secretary-Treasurer	242.78
Annual meeting and ballot expenses	56.14
	$ 3053.22
Cash on hand	1212.59
	$ 4265.81

Respectfully submitted

Fritz L. Kramer
Treasurer

The following members of the Society have been appointed official delegates to the Sixth International Congress of Onomastic Sciences, which will meet in Munich, Germany, from the twenty-fourth to the twenty-eighth of August, 1958: Prof. Ernst Pulgram, of the University of Michigan; Mr. Elsdon C. Smith, of Evanston, Illinois; Prof. J. B. Rudnyckyj, of the University of Manitoba; and Prof. Demetrius J. Georgacas, of the University of North Dakota. Professor Georgacas has promised a report about the activities of the Congress.

Many thanks go the following who are serving on the Membership Committee for 1958:

Chairman: George R. Stewart, Department of English, University of California, Berkeley 4, California.

Region A*: E.Wallace McMullen, R. D. #4, Easton, Pennsylvania.
J. C. Furnas, R. D. 1, Lebanon, New Jersey.
Mrs. Robert Stewart, Bristol-Meyers Co., 630 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Region B: Dean F. W. Bradley, 4250 St. Clair Drive, Columbia, South Carolina.

Region C: H. F. Raup, Department of Geology and Geography, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio.
Allan H. Orrick, Department of English, University of Indiana, Bloomington, Indiana.
Thomas P. Field, Department of Geography, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky.

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Region G: E. H. Criswell, Department of English, University of Tulsa, Tulsa 4, Oklahoma.

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Region I: Mrs. Elizabeth K. Gudde, P. O. Box 567, Orinda, California.
Walter C. Kraft, Department of Modern Languages, Oregon State College, Corvallis, Oregon.

* The first person named under each region is the regional representative.

Region J: Donald Lee, Department of English, University of Connecticut, Storrs, Connecticut.
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Region L: T. M. Pearce, Department of English, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Region M: J. B. Rudnyckyj, Department of Slavic Languages, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

Region N: G. M. Munroe, Canadian Board on Geographic Names, No. 8 Temporary Building, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

Region O: A. I. Bereskin, Controller of Surveys, Department of National Resources, Regina, Saskatchewan, Canada.

Region P: Gustavo Stahl, 10a Calle 6–13, Z 1, Guatemala City, Guatemala.

Region Q: Gutierre Tibon, Paseo de la Reforma 1–959, Cuidad de Mexico, Mexico.

With the efforts of this able committee, I am sure that the membership of the American Name Society will increase greatly and that soon every state will be represented.

Margaret M. Bryant
President

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Francis P. Farquhar was the official delegate of the Society to the inauguration of Glen S. Dumke as president of San Francisco State College, on May 2, 1958, in San Francisco, California.

Integration and Name Changing among Jewish Refugees from Central Europe in the United States

ERNEST MAASS

Acknowledgements

The idea of writing this study came to me a number of years ago. However, it was not until I received a fellowship for this purpose from the Jewish Conference on Material Claims against Germany, Inc., which I gratefully acknowledge, that I was able to give the subject the time and attention I felt it deserved.

In furthering the progress of the work several persons were particularly helpful. They gave me freely of their time, encouraged me in various ways, offered welcome critical advice, or commented on the draft manuscript. Special thanks for such help are due to Abraham Aidenoff, William R. Gaede, Kurt R. Grossmann, Erwin G. Gudde, Hugo Hahn, Ernest Hamburger, Alfred L. Lehmann, Adolf Leschnitzer, Martin Sobotker, Arieh Tartakower and Fred S. Weissman. Among those who throughout the years brought name changes to my attention I am especially indebted to my mother. I also wish to thank the many other persons from whose active interest in the project I have profited and whom I may have failed to mention.

Background, Immigration, Integration

The term "Jewish refugee from Central Europe", in this paper, refers to Jews from Germany and Austria who left their native lands in 1933 or later as a result of persecution by the National Socialist regime. It also includes Jews from Czechoslovakia whose mother tongue was German and who escaped after the annexation by Germany of the Sudetenland in 1938 and the establishment of a German Protectorate in 1939.

In order to appreciate what an adjustment to a new country meant to these particular immigrants to the United States, it is

important to indicate to what extent the Jews of Central Europe had achieved integration when the National Socialists seized power.

Jews have been living in Central Europe since the Roman conquest, and some Jewish communities have been in existence for over a thousand years. In fact, Jewish settlers preceded German ones in some parts of Germany.[1] After centuries of oppression and life in the ghettoes Jews at last began to obtain political, economic and social emancipation in the period of the French Revolution. Although complete emancipation, in law, was achieved in the course of the nineteenth century, reality was different in many respects and anti-Jewish feelings manifested themselves in various ways down to the twentieth century. In the German Empire, for example, with very rare exceptions, Jews could not obtain appointments as judges in the higher ranks or to civil service positions, appointments as supervisors of institutions of secondary education, full professorships at universities, commissions in the professional officer corps and the like. Baptism usually removed these obstacles. Official anti-Semitism had its counterpart in the anti-Jewish feelings of large masses of the people which never disappeared completely.

Overwhelmingly the Jews of Central Europe belonged to the middle class. Most of them lived in cities, and their occupations were typical of a middle class urban population. Businessmen, whitecollar workers and professionals predominated. In their respective fields Jews made a contribution to the greatness of their countries that was out of proportion to their numbers. From their ranks rose composers, poets, painters, economists, businessmen, statesmen and scientists of highest reputation, fame or influence – men like Felix Mendelssohn, Heinrich Heine, Max Liebermann, Alfred Ballin, Walter Rathenau, Sigmund Freud and Albert Einstein, to mention but a few. Some of them had left Judaism as a religion. "Much of Germany's fame in the realm of science, scholarship and letters was due to them [that is, the Jews] . . . It is, indeed, one of the great ironies of history that a country that owed so much of its greatness to its Jewish citizens should have become their most relentless enemy, seeking actually their complete physical extermination."[2]

[1] Leschnitzer, Adolf, *The magic background of modern anti-Semitism.* New York. International Universities Press (c1956), p. 215, footnote 3.

[2] Davie, Maurice R., *Refugees in America.* New York, Harper (c1947), p. 6–7.

Still identifiable as a distinct group, the Jews of Central Europe were highly assimilated when compared to the Jewries of Eastern Europe and considered themselves an integral part of the nation. Their mother tongue was German. As a religious group they made their most distinctive contribution in the development of both the organizational structure of modern Jewish life and of Judaistic studies.[3]

Because of a low birth rate, a relatively high percentage of intermarriages, and a lack of Jewish immigrants, the numbers of the Jews of Central Europe declined. Some scholars predicted their disappearance in a few generations. In Germany in 1933 they constituted less than one percent of the population, that is, 502,799 persons,[4] and in Austria, at the same time, $2^1/_2$ percent, that is, 200,000 souls.[5]

Thus, the integration attained by the Jews of Central Europe in the period of about 150 years, from the French Revolution to the advent of National Socialism, was of a mixed nature. On the one hand, the Jews, looking back to a settlement of several hundred years in these countries, had struck deep roots. They identified themselves with their countries and participated intensely in their affairs. In fact, the Jews of this area were among the most assimilated, if not the most assimilated, Jews anywhere. On the other hand, some sectors of the population challenged Jewish integration but did not interfere with it seriously.

That state of integration ended abruptly when the National Socialists seized the government and applied a policy of racial discrimination for which the Jews were not prepared. (A typical part of the new regime's discriminatory policy – though hardly comparable in importance to its criminal acts – was its order compelling all Jews to add the name Israel, and all Jewesses to add Sara, to their first names; in this context one might also refer to the order compelling Jews to wear a yellow badge.) The radical change from the status of full-fledged – and often honored – citizens of yesterday to that of pariahs of today came as a surprise and shock to most of them. About half of the Jews did not succeed in

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[3] Cahnmann, Werner J., Jews from Germany in the United States; book review. *Bulletin of Congregation Habonim* (New York) 17:4–6, March 1956.

[4] Davie, p. 6.

[5] "Austria". *Universal Jewish encyclopedia.* New York (c1948), 1:629.

leaving Central Europe in time; they were murdered by the National Socialists. The others escaped and were scattered literally to the four corners of the earth. Roughly 200,000 people – 140,000 from Germany, 60,000 from Austria and fewer than 3,000 German-speaking Jews from Czechoslovakia – found refuge in the United States of America.[6,7]

Immigration opened an entirely new chapter in the lives of these persons. They had lost a very precious possession: a sense of belonging. For them integration in a new country was more than a practical necessity; it was, in fact, a psychological necessity. What were some of the conditions under which refugee integration in the United States took place, and what were some of the characteristics of the persons involved in this process?

In numbers, refugee immigration was an insignificant ripple compared to the tidal waves of immigrants that came to the shores of this country previously. Almost 9,000,000 persons migrated to the United States between 1901 and 1910, and after the restrictive quotas had been adopted, still more than 4,000,000 between 1921 and 1930.[8]

Refugee immigration differed from the other types of immigration also in other respects. Among earlier immigrants the peasant and the unskilled worker had predominated. Among the refugees, the predominant element was the middle class with correspondingly higher economic, educational and cultural standards. Also, the ability to leave Europe and to satisfy American admission requirements introduced selective factors not required several de-

[6] For the immigration figures on Germany, see Grossmann, Kurt R., What happened to the Jews? In American Federation of Jews from Central Europe, Inc., *Ten years American Federation of Jews from Central Europe, Inc., 1941–1951.* New York, c1952, p. 47. For figures on Austria, see Essrig, Harry, Jewish Americans, in Brown, Francis J., *One America.* 3rd ed. New York, Prentice-Hall, 1952, p. 272.

[7] According to the official Czechoslovak census for 1930, about one seventh of the 354,000 Czechoslovak Jews spoke German as their mother tongue. Even if the percentage should have been higher among the 3,298 Jewish immigrants from Czechoslovakia who arrived in the United States from 1938 to 1943, the German-speaking ones must have been fewer than 3,000. For a breakdown of Jewish and non-Jewish immigration from Czechoslovakia see Kisch, Guido, *In search of freedom.* London, Goldston, 1949, p. 292, footnote 115. For an analysis of the language factor in Czechoslovak Jewry see Blau, Bruno, Nationality among Czechoslovak Jewry. *Historia judaica.* (New York) 10:147–154, October 1948.

[8] Davie, p. 20

cades before.[9] Again, prior to the 1930's, the proportion of immigrants over 45 years of age was never as much as 10 percent, but with the refugees it was 16 percent from 1933 to 1937 and even 27 percent during the years 1939 to 1940. It is also noteworthy that the majority of the refugees were, or had been, married and that well over half, made up of older persons without regular occupation and of women and children, had no gainful occupation.[10]

Their reason for wanting to come to the United States was not a desire to better their material lot but the need to escape actual or anticipated persecution. The great mass had made a final break with the "old country" and accepted the United States as "our country".[11] Their desire to become assimilated, no less than their relatively small numbers, their wide geographical distribution and their educational and cultural background facilitated their adjustment greatly.[12]

The settlement of refugees all over the United States was encouraged by private relief organizations which foresaw greater economic opportunities in areas removed from the immigrant-preferred east coast and also wished to counteract the formation of anti-foreign trends of public opinion. Among the cities that saw the growth of fairly large refugee groups were New York (80,000 persons), Chicago (15,000), Los Angeles (8,000), Philadelphia (6,000), San Francisco (5,000), Boston (3,500), Detroit (2,000), Baltimore (2,000), Cleveland (2,000), St. Louis, Washington, D. C. and Newark (1,700 each).[13] In Detroit, Boston, Chicago, New York and San Francisco refugees created their own religious institutions[14] and also in Baltimore and Cleveland.[15] In some areas, certain resi-

[9] Handlin, Oscar and Mary F. Handlin, The United States, in *The positive contribution of immigrants*. Paris, UNESCO (1955), p. 32.

[10] Kent, Donald P., *The refugee intellectual*. New York, Columbia University Press, 1953, p. 14.

[11] Davie, Maurice R. and Samuel Koenig, Adjustment of refugees to American life, in Carter, Hugh, *Reappraising our immigration policy*. Philadelphia, American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1949, p. 161.

[12] Davie, *Refugees in America*, p. 156.

[13] Grossmann, Kurt R., Die Einwanderung 1933–1955. *Aufbau* (New York), April 15, 1955.

[14] Hirshler, Eric E., ed. *Jews from Germany in the United States*. New York, Farrar Straus (c1955), p. 92.

[15] Letter to the writer from Leo Baeck Institute, New York, January 30, 1956.

dential sections showed a heavy concentration of refugees as, for instance, the South Side in Chicago[16] and Washington Heights in Manhattan, nicknamed "The Fourth Reich" by refugees.[17]

By a twist of fate the refugees came to the United States during a depression when countless Americans suffered severe economic distress. Even in prosperous times refugees could not have been absorbed without some lowering of their standard of living, but the depression multiplied their difficulties. If they were lucky enough to find work at all, it was inevitably poorly paid. The exigencies of a new life in a new world turned the ex-furniture-factory-owner into a messenger, the dentist into a door to door salesman, the lawyer into an elevator operator, the journalist into a night-shift man on the newsstand, the foreign language editor into a zipper cleaner or the antiquarian into a Good Humor ice cream man.[18]

Neither was the economic adjustment an easy one for those who were able to continue their old occupations or professions. Physicians and others preparing for examinations needed the support of friends, relatives or relief organizations to tide them over the difficult transition period. Women often proved more adaptable than men by accepting work as domestics and so contributing to the family budget.[19] Even though the placement of the twelve Nobel Prize winners and the 103 men among the refugees outstanding enough to be listed in *Who's Who in America* created no insoluble problems, there were enough musicians, conductors, painters, photographers, writers, actors, producers, composers, teachers, and

[16] Davie, p. 157.

[17] Stock, Ernest, Washington Heights' "Fourth Reich". *Commentary* (New York) 13:581–588, June 1952.

[18] For autobiographical accounts on the economic plight of refugees, written with a light touch, see Casparius, Edgar, Odd jobs. *Staatszeitung und Herold* (New York), Sonntagsblatt, November 1, 8, 15, 1953; also Warschauer, Ernst, Memoirs of a refugee. *Brooklyn Jewish Center Review* (Brooklyn N.Y.) 24:13–14, November 1942; id., Homework for the professor. *Brooklyn Jewish Center Review* 24:7, May 1943. Also see Behrendt, Ernst, How do you like New York ? *Menorah journal* (New York) 28:99–103, 1940. For a breakdown of the occupational redistribution of 35 refugees coming from various backgrounds, and of 68 jurists, all living in the Los Angeles area, see Lourié, Anton, *Social adjustments of German Jewish refugees in Los Angeles*, Los Angeles, University of Southern California, 1953 (Master's thesis), p. 48, 88.

[19] Roback, A. A., Types of German émigrés I have met. In his *Psychorama*. Cambridge, Mass., Sci-Art Publishers (1942), p. 249.

ex-government officials who could not easily find employment. The outlook was particularly bleak for elderly persons lacking flexibility to adjust to a country which did not look too kindly on any job seeker, native or foreign-born, of over forty years of age. Refugees also were not welcomed with open arms by employers who for a long time had practiced discrimination against both foreign-born Americans and native-born American Jews.[20] What with the opposition of competition-conscious professional groups, and the steady stream of propaganda emanating from National Socialist Germany, economic adjustment for many refugees became a back-breaking, all-consuming task.

However, the refugees included a number of persons who opened up new businesses, some of them founded with capital brought along from Europe, others started with almost no funds. To that extent they were a group that created employment. In general, refugees stepped into breaches left by the cessation of imports during the Second World War.[21] Many refugee firms produced goods not previously manufactured in the United States, and introduced new processes, patents, secret formulas and new skills.[22, 23]

It is also noteworthy that, owing to economic difficulties, the lesser known artists, writers and scholars directed their activities largely into the teaching field. They thus continued an almost traditional role inherited from earlier Jewish immigrants from Central Europe as "carriers and transfer agents of German scholarship and European culture".[24]

It was this blending of the refugees' desire to adapt themselves to their new country, and their ability to provide certain services and goods, on the one hand, and America's capacity to absorb the newcomers and the products of their labor, on the other, which projected them into the mainstream of American life. In contrast to earlier immigrants refugees almost from the beginning made their living within the whole community and not within their own group. They offered their services to all and opened their shops and professional offices in the general business districts.[25]

[20] Maass, Ernest, Why blame her? *Congress Weekly* (New York) 18:10–12. May 28, 1951. [21] Hirshler, p. 92. [22] Davie, p. 246.

[23] Rado, Emmy Crisler, Refugees at work. *Brooklyn Jewish Center Review* 23:5–6; June 1942. Also, Haber, William, The refugees in America. *Menorah journal* 28:205–213, 1940. [24] Hirshler, p. 94. [25] Davie, p. 46.

One of the factors promoting the refugees' economic integration was their knowledge of the English language. "It is safe to say that no other non-English-speaking immigrant group has learned English so rapidly and so well in a comparable period of time."[26] Most refugees had at least a rudimentary acquaintance with English; among the intellectuals, only slightly more than six percent indicated that they knew no English at the time of entry.[27]

The group as a whole showed the greatest determination in mastering English – "an attitude characteristic of the refugees' approach to nearly all phases of American life".[28] Some refugees banned the German language from their homes in order to learn English that much faster;[29] others ostracized their mother tongue out of resentment against their persecutors who spoke the same language.[30] As with all immigrants, children of school and college age were the most influential propagandists for English, and in many families German conversations were frequently interspersed with English expressions.[31]

The English language was even more important in furthering the refugees' social and cultural integration. Only by knowing English could refugees communicate with their neighbors and absorb the spirit of their new country and of their times as fully as they did. Refugees had uncommonly extensive social contacts with Americans, and the proportion of those who established friendships was unusually high for an immigrant group.[32] The smaller the town the refugees lived in, the more friends they made from outside their group, and the fewer were their refugee friends.[33] This is not to say that refugees had an easy time throughout making friends. Some of them were "very, very lonely" indeed, and the difficulties – as seen by refugee intellectuals – were 1) different cultural interests; 2) anti-foreign and anti-Semitic feelings as well as lack of funds for entertaining purposes, lack of time, language difficulties, and inability to meet persons of similar cultural interests.[34]

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[26] Davie, p. 166. [27] Kent, p. 43. [28] Kent, p. 49.

[29] Kent, p. 51. [30] Roback, A. A., p. 248.

[31] Maass, Ernest, Ist Ihre Muttersprach Deutsch? *Aufbau*, December 20, 1946. See also observations on the use by refugees of English, German, and the hybrid Anglo-German language "Emigranto" made by Lourié, Anton, p. 58–59.

[32] Davie, p. 160. [33] Kent, p. 71. [34] Kent, p. 60–61.

By and large what has been called "the cultural migration" was successfully absorbed by America. Proof of this may be seen in the placement of so many refugees in positions of cultural influence, with little friction;[35] in the fact that so few of them chose to return to Central Europe after World War II;[36] and in the development and/or reinforcement of trends influenced by refugees.[37] Nevertheless, there were some failures, too — economically, socially and culturally. Some refugees suffered keenly from the lowering of status that life in America imposed on them. These persons tended to magnify their past achievements and to emphasize the good life they had once enjoyed - an approach not appreciated by Americans who normally take a person "as is" and are more concerned with the present than the past.[38]

In other cases, Americans sensed an attitude of superiority in some refugees who held the preconceived notion that Europe was the sole source of an enlightenment that welled across the Atlantic along with the refugee.[39] That attitude was particularly resented by American Jews who thought such refugees to be ungrateful.[40]

The offending attitudes, it has been pointed out, were based, in the last analysis, on behavior patterns prevalent in upper and middle class German society which most refugees were able to change in the process of adjustment.[41]

One factor in this adjustment was the founding, by refugees, of a number of organizations devoted to their special needs — religious, fraternal, charitable, cultural and political. In providing services, forums for discussions, media of communication and eco-

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[35] Kent, p. 125.

[36] Neumann, Franz, The social sciences. In *The Cultural migration; the European scholar in America.* Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953, p. 18.

[37] Hirshler, p. 94–95.

[38] A joke that circulated among refugees illustrates the "former glory" approach of some of their fellow-refugees:

Three refugees in New York were reminiscing about Europe. "In Berlin," said the first, "I was president of the largest bank. Here I am a clerk in a warehouse." "In Vienna," said the second, "I conducted an orchestra of one hundred musicians. Here I am a music teacher in a girls' school." "So what?" said the third, "look at my poor little dachshund. In Europe he used to be a St. Bernard!"

For two different versions of this joke see Davie, p. 384.

[39] Kent, p. 122. [40] Hirshler, p. 92.

[41] Whyte, John, *American words and ways.* New York, Viking Press, 1943, p. VII, 129. See also Davie, p. 383–386.

nomic and legal assistance, these organizations helped refugees to obtain a foothold and to feel more secure in this country, in the companionship of individuals of similar origin and fate. Over the years, the change in the nature of their activities, the topics under discussion, and the increasing use of English, at the expense of German, in the conduct of their affairs reflected the absorption of the members in American life rather poignantly. In addition, refugees founded a weekly magazine, *Aufbau*, whose high standards attracted condiderable attention.[42] It had a circulation of 37,000 copies in 1951 and of 30,000 copies in 1957.

America's entry into the Second Worl War changed the situation of the refugees in several ways. Most of them had not been in the United States long enough to be able to acquire American citizenship – notwithstanding the fact that no other immigrant group had ever applied for their first naturalization papers as rapidly and as uniformly as the refugees. Accordingly they were classed technically as enemy aliens. This was a difinite hardship for many of them. They were prevented from earning a living in many war industries and also had to submit to travel restrictions, finger printing, individual cases of denunciation and stringent investigations by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.[43] But, simultaneously, the war dramatized the refugees' role as the first victims of Nazism and made their plight more understandable to many Americans.[44] Refugees made a direct contribution to the war effort both as members of the American armed forces, as scientists engaged on war projects, and as specialists serving with the armies of occupation. Within the United States increased economic activity facilitated the economic absorption of the newcomers.

When the Second Worl War had come to an end, the mass of the refugees had been absorbed into the maintream of American life. Integration of most of them had been achieved. That is to say, the "gradual process by which immigrants became active participants in the economic, social, civic, cultural and spiritual affairs of America – the process by which they came to feel 'at home' and were Americanized to the point where we [native Americans] felt that they were no longer foreigners" had successfully run its

[42] Grossmann, Kurt R., Why Aufbau is a success. *Congress Weekly* 18:10–11. February 5, 1951.

[43] Hirshler, p. 96.

[44] Handlin, Oscar and Mary F. Handlin, p. 35.

course.[45] America had opened her doors - not as widely as refugees and many others trying to save human lives had hoped – and had given shelter to thousands. The new country, its government, its people, and the specially created social service agencies, Jewish and Christian, had accepted these immigrants in the expectation that they would become useful citizens. And the refugees responded eagerly, knowing how much they owed to America and wanting to contribute to her development. In this interaction between country and refugees integration took place "with a speed and thoroughness unparalleled in the history of immigration".[46]

Name changing

As refugees changed into "New Americans", they became aware of various integration problems. One of these was the name problem, or rather, the change-of-name problem. It was obviously a problem that engaged the attention of many of them, for in the course of the years several thousands changed their names.

There is nothing unique in this phenomenon because for a long time immigration to the United States has been accompanied by a tendency to change the immigrants' names. The trend has been especially strong among persons - both actual immigrants and their descendants – whose names differed from Anglo-Saxon ones.[47] Sometimes such changes were undertaken not on the immigrant's initiative but on the forceful suggestion of immigration officials unable to cope with complicated foreign patronymics.

A. Name changing and the law

So far as the laws of the United States are concerned, name changing is rather easy. "There has existed here no general hindrance to change of name, either gradual or abrupt . . . Instead of placing obstacles in the way of name changes, the tendency is to aid it. Thus as part of the naturalization proceeding, the law prov-

[45] White, Lyman Cromwell, *300,000 New Americans*. New York, Harper, (c1957), p. 23.

[46] Stock, Ernest, p. 581 (editorial note). See also the following comment, ". . . the actual adjustment which [the refugees] have achieved may be considered as the maximum adjustment possible for immigrants of their particular age, education, and length of stay in this country." Lourié, Anton p. 4.

[47] Mencken, H. L., *The American language*. London, Cape, 1922, p. 328–329; also *Supplement II*, New York, Knopf, 1948, p. 405–462.

ides that the court, upon the petition of the applicant, may in its discretion make a decree changing the name of the alien, and his certificate of citizenship is issued to him in accordance therewith."[48]

These laws are designed to help the individual find his niche in this country and to speed up his integration.[49] They recognize the fact that in some circumstances the integration of an individual can be enhanced by a change of name. Of course, name changes are not the only means to achieve integration but they are recognized as an important factor.[50]

In the light of these attitudes and conditions, it is not surprising that name changes occurred also among refugees. The latter wished to integrate; such integration was favored by public opinion; name changing was one of the socially acceptable means of achieving integration; and facilities for changing were readily available. It is also understandable that the various studies on refugees contain

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[48] Davie, *World immigration.* New York, MacMillan, 1949, p. 505.

[49] American name legislation has no counterpart in a country like Germany were name changing is difficult and no attempt is made to assimilate the foreigner as fast as possible. On the other hand, France after the Second World War based her new name legislation on another concept; she wished to remove all obstacles hindering the assimilation of foreign-born citizens-to-be, and a foreign-sounding name was one such obstacle. Applicants for French naturalization are now permitted to "gallicize" their names. (See United Nations. *Yearbook on human rights for 1950*, New York, 1952, p. 85). In Iceland, the authorities have gone even farther to achieve assimilation. Since 1952 aliens who are to be granted citizenship must adopt Icelandic names, in conformity with the law on names no. 54 of June 27, 1925. (Letter from the Embassy of Iceland, Washington, to the writer dated June 5, 1958. See also Fischer, Alfred Joachim, Jews in Iceland. *AJR Information* (London) 13:10, March 1958). The state of Israel, in turn, strongly favors adoption of Hebrew names by both old residents and new immigrants alike. Israelis are not only encouraged to take Hebrew names but in some cases put under strong pressure to do so. The aim is as much to further national cohesion as to wipe out reminiscences of Jewish life in the Diaspora.

[50] M. Sauvy lists 18 factors leading to integration. They include, among others, name changes, distribution among different occupations and social levels, friendship and romantic attachments to the local population, education, mass media of communication, play of children, military service, social success and the acquisition of property, mass production of standardized items such as clothes and food, and — a sense of humor. (See Barnard, William S. and Walter H. Bieringer, Report on UNESCO Conference of the Cultural Integration of Immigrants, Havana, 1956. *Interpreter releases* (New York) 33:167, May 21, 1956.

only a few, isolated references to name changing.[51] This is so because more urgent problems – such as economic absorption, for example – demanded greater attention.

B. Sources of information on new names

Material for this study was derived from two main sources. First, for over a decade a search was conducted for changes that could be discovered by reading refugee publications, consulting membership lists of refugee organizations, interviewing their officials, talking to as many refugees as possible and by keeping both eyes open for any evidence suggesting that a name change had taken place. These sources yielded a list of some 1,000 changed names.

The second main source was a collection of 91 replies to a lengthy questionnaire on name changes sent to 300 refugees known to have adopted new surnames. This is a small number of replies and any statements based on them exclusively are so identified and should be understood to apply only to the sample survey.

C. Percentage of name changers

The percentage of refugees who changed their names in this country cannot be told with accuracy. It is highest among persons of advanced social status or aspirants to such status. For example, almost 15 percent of the 721 refugee intellectuals reached in Donald Kent's survey had changed their names in some way.[52] In a comparable group, the American Jewish KC Fraternity whose 746 members were professionals or students in Germany, 14.3 percent had changed their patronymics.[53]

Membership lists of non-academic refugee organizations show lower figures. Among the 1,000 members of Congregation Habonim in New York 6.7 percent have new surnames. A study of 2,000 refugee names undertaken by Rabbi Leo Baerwald, former spiritual head of Congregation Beth Hillel in New York, showed only

[51] Kent, p. 152; Also Saenger, Gerhart, *Today's refugees, tomorrow's citizens.* New York. Harper, 1941, p. 121, 193.

[52] Kent, p. 152. Kent's figures are based on questionnaires deposited with the Carl Schurz Foundation in Philadelphia. The Foundation considers the questionnaires confidential and did not grant permission to the writer to consult them. It is to be hoped that future name researchers will have access to them.

[53] *KC Address book.* New York, American Jewish KC Fraternity, 1953.

1.5 percent but, on the other hand, did not include such transliterations as Neumann-Newman, Stiefel-Steefel or Anfochs-Anfox. In Rabbi Baerwald's opinion, adding such names would not raise the total to more than 3 percent.[54]

The correct figure may be assumed to lie somewhere between the highest and the lowest percentages indicated above. For example, the weekly *Aufbau*, which is probably more representative of all refugee strata all over the United States than any of the other sources mentioned, contains numerous proofs of name changes -- in announcements of births, confirmations, engagements, marriages, anniversaries and deaths, business notices, success stories, search notices and the like. A spot check of five consecutive issues published in 1953, and five consecutive issues published in 1956 and covering 424 separate items showed that 4 percent of all listed names had been changed. Because it is not always evident how many individuals of the same family share the same new name, one may estimate that the final figure is somewhat above 4 percent.

D. Some characteristics of name changers

According to the sample survey, some of the characteristics of the name changers were as follows:[55]

The largest number of name changers were between the ages of 25 and 29 at the time they immigrated. They were followed, in numerical strength, by age groups 40–44, 30–34, 35–39, under 19, 19–24, 45–49, and 50 and over, in that order. When all persons of over 45 years were lumped together, they equalled the age 25–29 class, that is, the biggest single 5-year group.

In their overwhelming majority, the name changers were married. Two thirds of the married couples had children, at one to three children per couple.

These persons spoke the following languages with their families: English only, German only, and both German and English, in that

[54] Letter from Rabbi Baerwald to the writer dated February 2, 1956.

[55] The importance of such generalizations should not be overestimated and should be read in conjunction with the following comment on a similar subject: "The average German émigré is supposed to be of such and such an age, to live on the second or third floor of an eight apartment building, to go once a week to the movies, and call on friends, etc. ad libitum. We might as well say that the average American eats three times a day, sleeps from 7 to 8 hours in 24, has a family, and listens to the radio at least once a day." Roback, p. 246.

order. A few spoke other languages such as Italian and French at home (a result of intermediate residence in other countries before coming to the United States). With outsiders, almost all of them spoke English, but a few spoke only German or German and English mixed.

More than half were members of Jewish religious organizations. Over a third indicated membership in Jewish organizations of a social-fraternal character. About one fifth belong to non-Jewish organizations of this type.

All had middle class occupations. There were physicians, dentists and optometrists, lawyers, accountants and statisticians, and such professional and technical workers as engineers, teachers, journalists, X-ray technicians and artists. The group included managers and administrators, that is, businessmen, executives, bankers, manufacturers and self-employed persons as well as clerical workers and salesmen.

Within the group, the number of persons holding salaried jobs in the United States was larger than it was when these people lived in Europe, and the number of independent positions held in the United States was smaller than it had been in the Old World. All persons who had immigrated as students had moved into gainful occupations.

E. Names changed most frequently

Certain surnames showed a greater affinity to change than others. That is to say, one single cognomen such as Cohn, for example, would be replaced very often by a different one, while some other cognomens were hardly ever changed. Cohn and Cohen appeared in a new form in the list more often than any other patronymic, contributing the following 32 variations: Brunswick, Cane, Carlton, Carsen, Clark, Clifton, Cole, Colland, Collin, Collins, Colten, Colwyn, Cone, Cord, Cornell, Corty, Coser, Cowan, Cryde, Cunard, Gerard, Hahn, Kay, Kelly, Kennedy, Linde, Marshall, Meeler, Riemer, Russel, Victor and Williams.

Other names frequently altered were Levi – there were 16 variations for Levi-Levy-Lewy – and Salomon – 12 variatons. For example, Sadirni, Salm, Salten, Salton, Sandersen, Sands, Sanford, Santos, Seaman, Selton, Sloan and Stone were all derived from Salomon. At least seven variations were traced for each of the

following cognomens: Friedlaender, Goldstein, Israel, Katzenstein, Loewenstein, Rosenberg and Rosenthal. Loewenstein, for example, was replaced by Lawton, Lewis, Livingston, Lorris, Lowe, Lowens and Lownds. One must assume that each of these original surnames gave rise to still other transformations.

On the other hand, when similar names such as Rosenberg, Rosendorf, Rosenfeld, Rosenfelder, Rosenstein, Rosenstiel, Rosenthal and Rosenzweig were considered as one name group and compared with other such groups, the order in the frequency of name changes was somewhat affected. In such an arrangement, the Rosen- group yielded more variations than any other unit. It was followed by the Cohn-Cohen-Kohn-Kahn group and the ones beginning with the syllables Levi-, Loewen-, Gold-, Gruen-, Hirsch-, Herz- und Wein-. (There were 38, 36, 23, 23, 17, 16, 15, 12 and 9 changes, respectively.) The groups beginning with Abraham-, Deutsch-, Licht-, Koenig-, Silber-, and Stein- accounted for seven variations each.

To illustrate: in the Hirsch- group names like Hirsch, Hirschberg, Hirschfeld, Hirschheimer, Hirschhorn, Hirschinger, Hirschkind, Hirschowitz, Hirschstein and Hirschweh were replaced by surnames like Field, Franklin, Hart, Harter, Harvey, Henley, Herford, Higgins, Hilton, Hirsey, Hirsh, Hixon, Hoffman and Stone.[56]

[56] Some of the names listed are among the most frequent surnames of German Jews. According to the records of the 10,623 Jewish war dead of the German armed forces in the First World War, the following appeared among the sixty leading names, in the order of frequency indicated:

Names		
No. 1	Levi-Levy-Lewy	280 names
No. 3	Cohn-Cohen	198 names
No. 8	Rosenthal	97 names
No. 16	Salomon	65 names
No. 19	Rosenberg	62 names
No. 24	Loewenstein	55 names
No. 47	Goldstein	31 names
No. 48	Friedlaender	30 names
No. 50	Israel	30 names

Name Groups		
No. 1	Cohn-Cohen-Kohn-Kahn, etc.	364 names
No. 2	Rosen-	311 names
No. 3	Levi-	292 names
No. 4	Gold-	173 names

(continued on p. 145)

F. Types of name changes

When these name changes are arranged systematically, they fall into the following categories:[57]

1. Complete or partial translation

Names translated in their entirety include Braun-Brown, Froehlich-Gay, Freund-Friend, Fuchs-Fox, Goldschmidt-Goldsmith, Gutmann-Goodman, Gruen-Green, Hertz-Hart [the closest equivalent to Heart], Kaffe-Coffee, Neu-New, Neuhaus-Newhouse, Neumann-Newman, Reich-Rich, Rosenbaum-Rosetree, Silberschmidt-Silversmith, Schmidt-Smith, Schoenbach-Fairbrook, Schwarz-Ebon, Schwarzkopf-Blackhead, Weis-Wise, Weisberg-Whitehill, Wassermann-Waterman, Westfeld-Westfield.

In a partial translation, one half of the name – which may be the initial or the terminal one – is sacrificed and the remainder rendered into English. Preserving the first half, owing to the similarity of English and German, often preserves the old initial as well, as in Bischofswerder-Bishop, Braunschweiger-Brown, Creutzberger-Crossby, Hausschild-House, Koenigsberger-King, Lichtenstetter-Light, Muehlstock-Mills, Wasservogel-Waters, Wertheim-Worth, and Weissman-White. Retention of the terminal half turns Aufrichtig into Right and also produces Blumenthal-Dale, Futterweis-White, Himmelreich-Rich, Rosenberg-Hill, Seelenfreund-Friend, and Zuckerbaecker-Baker.

An interesting case is the name Schwarzschild, whose both halves each have a meaning. Both Black and Shield are derived from it. The Americanized surname Stone is also derived both from the initial syllable as in Steinberg and Steinberger, and from the terminal syllable as in Einstein, Goldstein, Hirschstein and Silberstein. And several different families originally called Dreschfeld, Freudenfeld, Gruenfeld, Hirschfeld, Schoenfeld and Sternfeld respectively now share the name Field.

[56] (continued)

No. 5	Loewen-	125 names
No. 6	Hirsch-	101 names
No. 7	Wein-	63 names

Meyer-Erlach, Georg, Die 60 häufigsten jüdischen Familiennamen. *Jüdische Familienforschung – Mitteilungen* (Berlin) 8:500–503, Dezember 1932.

[57] The classification used here follows the terminology, wherever applicable, employed by James E. Alatis in his, The Americanization of Greek names, *Names* (Berkeley, Calif.) 3:137–156, September 1955.

2. *Phonetic respelling*

In this instance, some letters of the old name are replaced by others in an effort to make the spelling conform to English phonetics: Anfochs-Anfox, Klyff-Clive, Krehan-Crayon (a designer!), Schaul-Shawl, Stiefel-Steefel, Treu-Troy, Veis-Vise, and Weinschenk Weinshank. In other cases, the name as respelled reflects the American pronunciation of the old name, as in Preuss-Pruce, Scheur-Shewer, or Treumann-Truman.

3. *Shortening*

In most cases, the new names are shorter than the original ones, This reduction of letters is accomplished in a number of ways.

a) *Apocope* (dropping of end syllable or letters)

Among the syllables eliminated are -berger, -burger, -feld, -fleck. -finger, -heim, -heimer, -hirsch, -holz, -kamm, -kopf, -lein, -litz, -ki, -mann, -reich, -ski, -stein, -stern, -stueck, -thal, -witz and many more. The shortened names appear in such forms as Argowitz-Argo, Benjamin-Ben, Bielschowsky-Biel, Bodenheimer-Boden, Bukofzer-Buko, Dobrowolsky-Dobrow, Duehrenheimer-Duehren, Eichtersheimer-Eichter, Frankenstein-Franken, Gundelfinger-Gundel, Gundersheim-Gunders, Heinzelmann-Heinz, Heysermann-Heys, Introgliator-Intro, Jutrosinski-Jutro, Kosterlitz-Koster, Litmanowitz-Litman, Markbreiter-Mark, Morgenstern-Morgen, Olitzki-Oli, Pollatschek-Pollat, Polajewski-Pola, Priebatsch-Priebat, Reingenheim-Rein, Rothhirsch-Roth, Stargardter-Star, Steinfeld-Stein, Sternreich-Stern, Schenkolewski-Schenk, Wilmersdoerfer-Wilmers, Winterberger-Winter.

Some name changers go one step further, that is, they apply phonetic respelling to the remaining name element, adding, subtracting or substituting letters, as the case may be. Tockuss (of Hebrew origin, meaning small of the back) becomes Tuck, Kaminski-Cummins, Doerzbacher-Dorzback, Tikotzki-Tick, and Zielenziger-Zeelens. There is Bauernfreund-Barr, Dukatenzeiler-Ducat, Friedlaender-Freed, Hirschheimer-Hirst, Orchudesch-Orr, Pintus-Pine and, through transposition, Hamburger-Burgham.

b) *Apharaesis* (dropping of initial syllable or letters)

Initial syllables are eliminated less frequently than terminal ones, perhaps because it entails, among other things, a change of initial. Changes of this sort are Deutschland-Land, Dingfelder-

Felder, Eichenbronner-Bronner, Eichtersheimer-Heimer, Eisenkraemer-Kramer, Feuchtwanger-Wanger, Friedlaender-Lander, Goldschmidt-Schmidt, Gunzenhaeuser-Hauser, Herzberg-Berg, Isselbacher-Bacher, Juliusburger-Burger, Kleimenhagen-Hagen, Nathansen-Hansen, Nathanson-Son, Rosenbaum-Baum, Rosenberg-Berg, Rothschild-Child, Spiegelthall-Hall, Wuerzweiler-Weiler and Zeilberger-Berger. Phonetic respelling is found among these "decapitated" names, too: Silberstein-Steen and Zuckermann-Kerman are two examples.

Here again, as in the case of some names partially translated, the elimination of the initial syllable gives a common Amercanized surname to different families not related to each other. Heimer, for example, is the new name of both the former Eichtersheimer and Vorchheimer families, Stein of the former Katzensteins and Rothsteins, and Wald of the former Eichenwalds, Gruenwalds, and Schoenwalds. And, as in the case of the name Schwarzschild quoted above, two entirely different names can be carved out by different families from one original: Both Eichters and Heimer are taken from Eichtersheimer, and both Gundel and Finger are shortened versions of Gundelfinger.

Apharaesis can create a new given name and a new surname with one stroke: One Fritz Josephsthal is now Joseph Thal, and Julius Joachimsthal has changed to Julius Joachim Stahl. Combined with apocope, apharaesis turns Herzberger into Berg. When applied in conjunction with transposition and phonetic respelling, a name like Untermeyer, via Rmeyer-Reymer, evolves into Reimer.

c) *Syncope* (dropping of middle syllable or individual letters)

In this case, all discarded letters may be connected with each other. For example, cutting out the letters -faen- transforms Anfaenger into Anger, or dropping -chhei- shortens Forchheimer to Former. Of similar descent are Harburger-Harber, Heldenmuth-Helmuth, Herzfeld-Hereld, Jacobson-Jason, Leipziger-Leir, Lippmann-Linn, Nuernberg-Nunberg, Pniower-Power, Riesenfeld-Ried, Rossheimer-Rossmer, Wechselmann-Welman. In other cases, however, the discarded letters are cut out here and there wherever it suits the individual. Such names are Heilborn-Hilbon, Idstein-Isten, Joelsohn-Jolson, Loewengardt-Logart, Marmorstein-Martin, Oesterreicher-Ostier, Rosenstein-Rosten, or Rosenzweig-Roswig.

Syncope is sometimes followed by further elimination – or addition of letters. These steps lead, for instance, from Herzberg via Herberg to Herber, from Brinitzer via Briner to Brinner, or from Horowitz to Howitt. Also, a succession of apocope and syncope, as in Kastanienbaum-Kastanien-Kasten, or Katzenellenbogen-Kellen is not unusual. The same principle prevails in such modifications as Appelbaum-Apel, Bodlaender-Bolan, Cariewski-Carew, Danielsohn-Danson, Friedlaender-Frelan, Grabowski-Graw, Halberstaedter-Halstad, Lachmanski-Lans, Ladenburger-Lane, Landsberger-Lane, Mischkowski-Mishow, Orljansky-Orlan, Rosendorf-Roen, Rosenstein-Ross, and Twardowicz-Tardov.[58]

When followed by phonetic respelling, syncope produces a change from Schirokauer (via Schirer) to Shearer, Neumetzger to Noymer, Schnaittacher to Snyder, Schaumberger to Shomberg, Sieradz to Sears, Theilheimer to Tyler, and Weinmann to Wyman. Syncope and partial translation transform Lilienfeld into Linfield.

Apharaesis, apocope and syncope cause the following change: Isaaksohn-Saaksohn-Saaks-Saks. One Isaaksohn family goes one step further, adopting the name Saxon. The name Czwikklitzer has been changed through apharaesis (Wikklitzer), syncope (Wikkler) and respelling into Wickler.

4. *Transposition*

Here the new name consists of all its original letters whose sequence, however, has been altered in some way, as in the name Arno derived from Aron, or Learsy derived (with a change from -i- to -y-) from Israel.

5. *Anglicization*

Any name change which gives the new surname the appearance of an Anglo-Saxon word or name might be termed Anglicization. Such surnames, for instance, are Pniower-Power or Stargardter-Star, each mentioned earlier as examples of syncope and apocope.

[58] The need for careful procedure in tracing name changes was brought home to the writer when he spotted the firm name of Bamberger and Harand in Forest Hills, New York. Knowing Mr. Bamberger to be a refugee from Vienna, the writer surmised that Harand might be another refugee whose name had been syncopated from Haberland. As it turned out, some members of the long-established aristocratic Harand family had been forced by the Nazis to flee Austria, but the name was an old one.

Of a similar nature are names in which one letter is replaced by another, as in Plaut-Plant, Caro-Carr, or Juda-Judd. In these cases, the new name is built on the old one, and there remains a close linguistic relationship between the two.

In this paper, however, Anglicization is above all meant to refer to surname which appear to be of Anglo-Saxon origin yet have no other visible link with the old patronymic than one or two identical initial letters. Names of this kind are Aufricht-Austin, Bettelheim-Bentley, Epstein-Eden, and Epstein-Easton. Also Foeldoesch-Fulton, Goldarbeiter-Goddard, Heinemann-Hart, Isaac-Irving (note that among American Jews Irving often replaces Isaac and also Israel as a first name), Jaschkowitz-Jackson, Katzenstein-Kerr, Levysohn-Lansing, Liebenstein-Lipton, Maschkowsky-Marcy, Neugarten-Nash, Oppenheim-Ogden, Podzaharadsky-Potter (there is also a Potter derived from Popper), Risel-Rice, Schulhof-Sutton, and Weichselbaum-Wallace. Another group of names in this category does preserve the first syllable but replaces the end syllable with one of Anglo-Saxon origin. Examples are Ansbacher-Ansley, Bertheim-Berton, Dryfuss-Dryden, Elsner-Elton, Finkelstein-Finley, Landsberger-Landis, Mittwoch-Mitford, Newratzki-Newton, Redlich-Redly, Silberstein-Silton, and Witkowski-Witton.

The conscious effort to Anglicize an Old-World name is still more visible when even the old initial is dropped and no trace whatsoever of the preceding cognomen remains, as in Aschenberg-Parker, Eckstein-Atkins, Goebel-Richmond, Guckenheimer-Holmes, Israelsky-Jonson, Levi-Hamilton, Meyer-Clifford, Nathan-Kenton, Steinberg-Cromwell, and Weinberg-Staple.

Anglicized cognomens, as a rule, are shorter than their antecedents. Exceptions like Cohn-Cunard, Hertz-Hartley, Herz-Harrison, Kahn-Kennedy, Katz-Katon, Marx-Maxton, or Totzek-Torrington simply confirm the rule.

6. *Personal background names*

Here the given name replaces the family name entirely. For instance, Lutz Rosenthal drops Rosenthal and assumes the name Lutz. Messrs. Gerhard Cohn, Harold Isaac and Heinz Muensterberger are now Mr. Gerard, Mr. Harold and Mr. Hines respectively. Miss Ingeborg Katz is now Miss Inge Borg (a parallel to the name

change from Fritz Josephsthal to Joseph Thal quote above). A writer and illustrator of children's books, Julius Potzernheim, by blending the initials of his first name and his surname, assumes the cognomen Jupo; he also substitutes a new first name and is now Frank Jupo.

Nicknames are also used. Herr Loewi was nicknamed "Ell" by his friends in Vienna, and now bears the name Ell legally.

7. *Names of female relatives*

Other background names are derived from the female members of the family, particularly wives and mothers. Such a switch entails a change from Cohn to Hahn, and Cohn to Marshall, Isakowicz to Weingarten, Lemberg to Bing, Levi to Werner, or Marcus to Dahl.

8. *Transmigration names*

In this category, names are based on individual experiences of refugees during transmigration, that is, after emigration from Central Europe but before immigration to the United States. For example, persons living in France for a while assumed French names there because, as one of them put it, "they provided a certain protection under the Vichy regime". Falk-Faure, Muehlstein-Multin, and Schwarz-Noir originated in this manner. One family which had been using a French translation of its name Buttermilch (beurre-lait) submitted that translation to phonetic respelling — hence Burlay. In a similar way, the change from Feuereisen to Ferro indicates some association with things Italian in the life of one individual.

Some English names rest on comparable foundations. They are often borne by transmigrants who spent the war years in the British armed forces. Such refugees were encouraged by the British War Office to assume English names so that the Germans would not know their origin in case of capture. In fact, the War Ofice issued a special Order to this effect.[59] Names like Cohen-Clayton, Fuchs-Fox Schwarzenberger-Sinclair and many others are traceable thereto.[60]

[59] The British Army Council Instruction containing this Order is still a restricted document and not available to the public (Letter to the writer from the British War Office dated March 2, 1956).

[60] For a discussion of changed names of Jewish refugees in Great Britain, see Friedenthal, Herbert, Von Moses zu Montgomery; jüdische Flüchtlingsschicksale in England. *Jedioth hadashoth* (Tel Aviv), April 13, 1949. The author subsequently changed his name, too. See Freeden, Herbert, Britain's new citizens.

9. *Miscellaneous*

Many name changes will remain obscure as long as the individuals concerned do not reveal their origin. Why, for instance, should one Schwarzkopf change to White? Did he consider his old name too long and did he dislike any of the obvious means of changing it such as Schwarz, Kopf, Black and so on? At any rate, some of his friends commented on his choice as follows: "First ge dropped his head (-kopf); then he changed his color (Schwarz-)."

G. "Models" for new names

A number of persons reached in the sample survey indicated that the telephone book – the proverbial old source of inspiration for a new name – still fulfilled that function. Respondents referred specifically to the telephone directories of Cleveland, London, New York and San Francisco. In London, for example, a family about to embark for America could not make up their minds whether the name-to-be should be spelled Jarret or Jarrett. "We looked through the London telephone book, and when we saw that most Jarretts lived in good residential areas we settled for Jarrett."

In New York, two friends in search of a name, both having the surname Epstein, went to a drugstore together and leafed through the telephone directory. "My friend decided on Eaton; I decided on Easton."

In one case, a soldier adopted the name of a river in whose vicinity he was stationed during the war. Another refugee's source of inspriation was the name of a New York department store. In a third case a man noticed the name of the addressee on a shipping crate, liked it, and made it his own. Another person adopted the name of a character in a movie. Then again the name Ronalds which appeared in a *New York Times* obituary caught the fancy of one refugee who adopted the modified form Ronald.

H. Reflections on choosing the "right" name

Some individuals took pains to select the "right" name – a name that fitted their personal requirements and the conditions of the

Congress weekly 23:8–9, November 19, 1956. An additional name change in England has some interesting ramifications. Mr. Ross, a British army officer during the war, was the son of the German-born Zionist Felix Rosenblueth, Israel's first Minister of Justice who became known under his new name of Pinchas Rosen (Rosen, Hebrew word for "Count").

world around them. The sample survey contained comments such as "The Jewish character of our name was carefully preserved", and "A new name like Franklin would have been very close to our old family name. We rejected it, however, because we considered it 'too American' – not in keeping with our background." In a similar vein one refugee wrote, "When I immigrated, my knowledge of English was rather limited and I felt that I should not assume an English-sounding name". The same thought motivated a professional man who commented, "I did not change to a typically Anglo-Saxon name at the time because I did not speak English well. Today, having a good knowledge of the language, I would perhaps change to a more English name, especially in consideration of my son."

I. Evolution of some names

Each of the respondents in the sample survey indicated that he had picked out one single name, without trying out other name alternatives, and had stuck to it. In contrast, some persons not connected with the survey revealed that occasionally a "name evolution" takes place.

A secretary who had been put under pressure by her employer, a lawyer, to drop her Jewish name ("He did not want a Jewish name to appear so often on legal documents to be witnessed") tentatively decided to adopt Gordon instead. "Then I was told that I would probably be asked, 'What was your name before?' – because so many people had changed to Gordon. So I looked through the telephone book and picked Gilbert."

Mr. Sochaczewer, for example, as a transmigrant in Lisbon, often signed telegrams "Sochawer" because the Portuguese cable clerks used to manhandle the original. On arrival in New York, he contracted the name to Sawer and was disappointed to have it pronounced Sauer or Sawyer. In the end, he adopted Sawyer.

In another instance, Heinz Pollak from Berlin was happy to discover that he needed to drop but two letters in order to bear the name of an American President: Polk. He did – but in the factory where he was then employed the workers promptly nicknamed him Pork. Heinz, by this time Henry, changed again and assumed the name of Pons. "Now everybody calls me Lily," he complained (an allusion to Lily Pons, the opera singer).

J. New names in the same family

Usually, the survey showed, a name change affected a whole family and its various members and not one individual alone. That is to say, in most cases not only the parents and minor children switched to a new surname, but adult children, brothers, unmarried sisters and even more distant relatives did likewise. Occasionally two related families whose original names had been entirely different all adopted the same new name. The impetus often came from the member of the family who arrived first in this country and changed his name. Nevertheless, name change behavior within the family did not always follow this pattern, old and new surnames continuing to live side by side. Children were usually more prone to acclimatize the family name than their parents but the reverse case is also on record. For example, in the Schoenbach family the father did and the son did not alter the name, and Fairbrook and Schoenbach appear as the names of the joint authors of Alvin James Fairbrook's book, *How to become a successful stamp dealer*. (Portland, Me., Severn-Wylie-Jewett Co., 1948).

Also on record are cases of changed names of brothers, and of brothers and sisters, in which each individual drops the old name and each adopts an entirely different one. For example, the new name of one of two brothers is Kent, that of the other Wells, both surnames deriving from Katzenstein. In a family named Weinstein, one brother bore the name of Westing, the other that of Weston. In one Epstein family, the new surname of one brother was Evans, of the second Evan, and of the third Edwards. Two brothers Kosterlitz renamed themselves Koster and Martin respectively. Mr. Kutner and Mr. Kay were also brothers, originally named Kutnewsky, and two brothers Kaminski gave themselves the names Kamins and Cummins respectively. An opera singer well known in Europe and America, Irene Jessner, and her brother by the name of Jarvis, both derived their names from Jellinek.

Without knowing the reasons why members of the same family living in the same country of refuge chose different surnames, their individual name preferences can hardly be explained. However, when brothers and sisters emigrated to different countries – and physical separation of families was a characteristic feature of the refugee migration – the adoption by each of a different surname is less of an enigma. Geographical distance, lack of communication,

particularly in wartime, and loss of contact made co-ordination of name changes more difficult. Among the cases on record of brothers living in different countries and adopting different surnames is the one of a Mr. Freund who emigrated to England and chose the name French there, while his brother, who went to the United States, took the name Dennis. Also, in a family named Halberstaedter one brother and his sister came to the United States where the brother preserved the name and the sister chose Halstad instead; their brother, who had gone to England, assumed the name Hulbert.

To some extent local, or rather national conditions accounted for the adoption of different names by members of the same family. In such cases, the common family name was "sacrificed" to the mores of the new country. That is to say, each name changer tried to select a name which was "acceptable" or easy to spell or pronounce in his particular country. For example, one brother in a family named Marschütz emigrated to France and assumed the surname Marchuetz, while his two brothers who came to the United States selected Marshall. Again, in Israel which favors the adoption of Hebrew names (see above, footnote 49), one individual by the name of Rosenfelder took the new name Vered (Hebrew for "rose"), while his brother in the United States chose the "Anglicized" form Rost. Finally, there was a case where one brother who went to England selected the name Fry, while his brother who came to the United States wished to stress his identification with the Jewish people and chose the name Yadede (Hebrew for "friend") – the original of both surnames being Freund.[61]

K. First-name changes

Often the first name was changed together with the family name, and most readily so when there was a very small difference between the German and the equivalent English given name. It was necessary to eliminate, add or substitute only one single letter to make such changes as Erich-Eric, Ernst-Ernest, Hermann-Herman, Franz-Frank, Eugen-Eugene, Georg-George, Günther-Gunter, and

[61] In view of so much diversity of names in certain families it seems worth while mentioning that uniform name changes in different countries have also been recorded. For example, three brothers living in England, the United States and Brazil respectively, all adopted Koby in place of Kobylinski.

Theodor-Theodore. A little more of a change was required with names like Kurt (Curt)-Curtis, Friedrich-Frederick, Fritz-Fred, Hans-John, Gerhard-Gerald, Wilhelm-William and so on. In the third category, the individual based his choice on some similarity between an existing "American" forename and his original one, as in Max-Maxwell or Siegfried-Fred. Still others looked for names based on no other similarity than an identical initial: Bodo-Bernard, Heinz-Howard, Horst-Harold, Kurt-Kenneth. In the fifth category, apparently entirely unrelated names came to the fore, like Gerhard-Fred, Hans-Justin, Heinz-Robert or Kurt-Jack. Sometimes what seemed to be an entirely different name was actually one of several given names – but not the first – which the individual had received at birth. For example, one Hans Herbert X. changed to Herbert Hans X., and one Otto Jakob Y. to Jack Y.

Even when first names were changed, the original was not always completely eliminated. They sometimes survived as middle initials, as when Heinz became John H., or Rudolf adopted Jack R.

The one first name which appeared in more transformations than any other given name was Hans. Such variations included Hanford, Haynes (selected by a copy writer), Henry, Howard, John and Justin. And yet, quite a few people preserved Hans intact, and a few others did not change Curt or Kurt at all. Other unchanged first names were Alfred, Arthur, Bruno, Edwin, Erwin, Herbert, Joseph, Julius, Leo, Ludwig, Lothar, Manfred, Martin, Oscar, Paul, Philip, Peter and Walter. Most of these are as "American" as they come and the lack of change does not require an explanation. As for the others, one might assume that the bearers thought too highly of their first names or did not consider them sufficiently irksome to modify them.

Parenthetically it should be noted that first names were changed not only by refugees who adopted new surnames, but also by those who kept their family names. In fact, one refugee organization, the American Jewish KC Fraternity mentioned above (footnote 53), could be divided into two name groups of almost equal numerical strength: persons in the first group had changed only their first names; those in the second group had altered their surnames (some without and some with additional change of given name). These "change-the-first-name-only" individuals also resorted to substitutions such as Gerhard-Jerry and Gerhard-Gary, Guenther-Gene,

Heimer-Harold, Hellmuth-Hale, and the like. Is it too far-fetched to suppose that such changes were, at least in part, prompted by the great use of first names in this country, which is much more customary here than in Europe and renders the possession of a given name that is pleasant to the bearer of greater importance?

L. Reasons for name changing

According to the sample survey, more than one-fourth of the individuals reached had decided to change their names even before they came to this country. The reasons they gave for this decision were practically the same as those given by the majority which made the same decision only after immigration. What were those reasons?[62]

Listed according to frequency in the sample survey, name changes were prompted by 1) difficulties of spelling and pronunciation; 2) a desire to break with the past; 3) anticipation of anti-Semitism in the United States; 4) the need, as an American soldier, to mislead the Germans, should the individual be captured; 5) the wish to have the same adopted surname as an earlier immigrant from the same family; 6) a desire to avoid ridicule; 7) the wish to protect oneself and also relatives in German-controlled countries; and 8) miscellaneous reasons.

The following comments on these reasons are based both on the statements made in the sample survey and on information from various sources.

1. *Difficulties of spelling and pronunciation*

It is a fact that many Americans have a hard time spelling and pronouncing non-English names unless, for some reason, they are well known. As Mencken has shown, non-English immigrants have

[62] The question might be raised whether the replies received, particularly those concerning reasons for a name change, can all be taken at face value. For instance, an individual might not wish to "admit" that he was afraid of anti-Semitism and might prefer to state that his name was often misspelled. This possibility exists but it is unlikely that in the case of the sample survey it is of numerical importance. For one thing, the recipients of the questionnaire were under no obligation to reply. Also, in order to obtain frank statements and to avoid any embarrassment for the respondents, the latter were encouraged to send anonymous replies, if they so desired. The fact that many respondents, replying both under their full names and anonymously, wrote that they acted in anticipation of anti-Semitism indicates at the very least that many respondents were willing to "admit" that fear.

changed their names on a large scale, and only one-third of present-day Americans have English surnames by virtue of "English blood" in the male line.[63] Refugees also tried to avoid those difficulties. Some of them changed not only such involved surnames as Dzialoszinsky (now Dallos) but also fairly simple ones like Schalscha for example, because of complications of daily life. (Schalscha, to the annoyance of the bearer, was frequently mispronounced Skalka and eventually was spelled Shalsha).

Accident sometimes plays its part. One immigrant at first settled in the South. When the people around him had too much trouble with his name, he transformed Langenbach into Lang. Later he resettled in the Midwest where many Americans of German descent live and discovered that Langenbach would not have given him any trouble there.

On the other hand, a person by the name of Treuenfels reported that over the years he and his children had collected 39 misspellings of their name – but they kept it, anyhow. Thus the decision to change a name frequently misspelled seemed to depend to a large extent on circumstances and individual preferences.[64]

2. *Desire to break with the past*

In the history of the Jews, there are few parallels of the disillusionment which overcame the Jews of Central Europe when their countries were taken over by the National Socialists. Some of them showed their feelings when they banned the German language from their homes. Others discarded the decorations which a grateful Fatherland had bestowed on them for military services in the First Worl War.[65] A third group reacted in a manner describe by an official of a prominent refugee social service organization: "At the end of 1938 I was released from the Dachau concentration camp and shortly afterwards came to the United States. I was so fed up with Germany that I wanted to drop my German

[63] Mencken, H. L., *The American language*; *Supplement II*. New York, Knopf, 1948, p. 402, 409.

[64] The remark made by an elderly Irishman who had been in the States since his boyhood illustrates the American habit of simplifying names. He spotted the name Maass and commented, "What do you need all those letters for? Why don't you change it to Mas?"

[65] Grossmann, Kurt R., In memoriam Herbert S. Schoenfeldt. *Aufbau*, July 6, 1956.

name, which was very easy to translate into English. But my son objected. 'I am proud of our name,' he said. 'It is well known. Don't give it up!' And so I kept my name."

But there were others to whom their own names had become anathema, and they did change them, in the spirit of one whose widow wrote, "My husband thought that our name was too German and was disgusted with it."

In addition, it was unpleasant for some refugees to bear German names at a time when their adopted new country was at war with Germany. In all probability it was also dislike of things German which led a number of refugees whose name contained the word "deutsch" to transform them, as in Deutsch changed to Dayton, Dennis, Dewton, Dexter and Dunn respectively, and in Deutschland changed to Land.

One such person, a manufacturer by the name of Deutsch who came to the United States from the Czechoslovak area inhabited by the Sudetendeutsche and annexed by Germany, assumed the surname Dayton. Hearing of this change, Jan Masaryk, Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, quipped, "I understand. Mr. Deutsch is now Mr. Su-Dayton-Deutsch!"

3. *Anticipation of anti-Semitism in the United States*

It was known to many refugees that in the United States, the very country which became a haven for thousands of them, some forms of anti-Semitism existed. Consequently some of them decided to drop their Jewish family names in advance of actual immigration (see above, p. 156). More numerous were those who became aware of anti-Semitism after they landed in this country. Frequently they were advised by relatives, friends and employers (both Jewish and Gentile) to escape that handicap by assuming non-Jewish surnames. Some employers seemed to be motivated by fear that an employee with a Jewish name would be detrimental to their businesses, while other persons felt they were merely giving sound advice. As described by respondents to the sample survey, suggestions were made to them as follows:

"As long as you keep that Polish-Jewish name of yours, you won't get anywhere," said my cousin, "and unless you change it, I won't do a thing for you." (This respondent added, "I did change my name, but even so my cousin didn't help me.")

– "At the time I was a travelling salesman, my Jewish boss asked me to change my name because it sounded Jewish. As I had thought of a name change befor, I decided to go through with it."

– "I had worked for a number of years in a Wall Street brokerage firm. One day my boss called me to his office and said, 'We have given you a promotion. And, by the way, have you ever thought of changing your name?' 'No, I haven't;' I said, 'the name has been in the family for a long time and I am satisfied with it.' He replied, 'Yes, I understand, but the people you deal with need not know any more about you than the business requires. Think it over.' And so I changed from . . . to . . ."

In a case not connected with the sample survey a refugee by the name of Salomon applied for an opening as church organist. The minister promised his help but suggested also a change of name. Salomon thereupon changed to Stone – but failed to obtain the position.

It also happened that a philanthropist deliberately planned name changes for refugees who had not even arrived in the United States. This person, organizer of a Jewish agricultural school in the South, without ever having seen the young farmers-to-be who were scheduled to join him, went over the list of their names. He drew up suggestions for "more American" names and presented them to the students upon their arrival. Some refused, some accepted. Among the latter, one Israelski changed to Irving, and one Dzubas to Durban.

Comment by one respondent was rather apologetic: "When I came to the United States in 1937 I was still suffering from my experiences in Germany. I was confused. Father Coughlin and his Social Justice Movement and the German American Bund were all very active. American Jews were quite disturbed. It was at that time that I opened my first store and wanted to put my name, which is quite Jewish, on the roof in big letters. I changed it at that moment."

Apart from the sample survey, there is other evidence that some refugee name changers were concerned about anti-Semitism. For example, how else can one explain that some refugees changed names like Baruch, Brandeis and Einstein (now Barr, Brandon and Stone respectively) – respected names of famous personalities who, however, were prominently identified as Jews? Perhaps such

new names as Franks and Frankford, derived from another famous surname, Frankfurter, do not belong in the same class because part of the name root ist still visible – yet one wonders why the bearers did not preserve so distinguished a cognomen.

4. *Protection in World War II*

During the Second World War, American military authorities often encouraged refugees in the armed forces to change their names, an encouragement also given by British military authorities to refugees in their armed forces (see above, p. 150). Its purpose was to prevent the Germans from meting out special punishment to refugees who might fall into their hands as prisoners of war. Several refugees reached in the survey stated that they were glad to have this additional measure of protection but were later disappointed to find that, in order to avoid many complications, they could not discard such surnames when the war had ended.

5. *Name of earlier immigrant in the family*

For persons having close family relationships it was natural to consider a change of name if the first immigrant had modified his. The first immigrant – who not infrequently had left Europe in the pre-Hitler era – could be assumed to know what was the "right" thing to do in this country. A common name reinforced the common bond. Occasionally the first arrival even insisted on a name change, either because he sincerely believed that he was doing his relative a favor, or because he was resentful of the reappearance of the discarded surname.

6. *Objectionable surnames*

For Jewish refugees to bear a name resembling that of prominent National Socialists was often an absurdity. A change, for example, from Goebel (so reminiscent of Goebbels) to Richmond eliminated that incongruity.[66] Other names, entirely unpolitical, had different unpleasant connotations – such as Frankenstein. There were also certain Jewish names which did not sit well on their bearers because in the past the names had been misused to ridicule them.

[66] Similar name changes such as from Himlar to Hamilton, Fuehrer to Scheer, and Heitler to Hilton are reported by Helen P. Wulbern in The how and why of name-changing. *American Mercury* (New York) 64:718, June 1947. See also Adamic, Louis, *What's your name?* New York, Harper, c1942, p. 108.

Finally, changes of such names as Dambitsch (now Danby) hardly need an explanation.

7. *Political work*

Some refugees who had done political work at home changed their names in order to be able to continue that work abroad. Their aim was to protect both themselves and relatives at home who were subject to National Socialist reprisals. These persons did not always assume a new name with the intention of keeping it permanently, and a few of them reverted to their family names when circumstances permitted.[67]

8. *Miscellaneous reasons*

Finally, there was dissatisfaction with the old name based on a variety of reasons. For example, a prospective bride insisted that her future husband change his name because she considered it ridiculous: the old name, translated into English, signified Green Woodpecker. Or there were some young refugees who felt a strong urge to emphasize their Jewish background – of which Nazism had made them particularly conscious – and adopted Hebrew names. New surnames like Yadede (meaning "friend") derived from Freund, and Gilead, which replaced Goldmann, originated in this manner. "After desiding to abandon Markowitsch, I chose Ben-Ami ("son of my people") because I wanted a name that was meaningful," reported one individual.

M. "Co-Existence" of old and new names

Usually the birth of a new surname spells the death of the old one. However, "co-existence" cannot always be avoided. For example, physicians are required by law to display their diplomas in their offices. If a physician had changed his name in this country but his diploma carried his old surname, the two names continued to exist side by side. Occasionally a professional or a business man considered it an advantage to be listed in the telephone book under both the old and the new names. (For similar, practical reasons some refugees who changed only their first names also had double

[67] Among those who protected themselves with an assumed name was the writer Kurt R. Grossmann who at one time wrote under the names of Felix Burger and Kurt Randloff. See Tartakower, Arieh and Kurt R. Grossmann, *The Jewish refugee.* New York, Institute of Jewish Affairs, 1944, p. 604, 611.

listings, one with the "European" and one with the "American" first name). Most frequently, however, the old name came to life again when refugees met, exchanged information, relived common experiences and revived old memories. One of the persons reached in the sample survey stated, "I use the old name sometimes to identify myself as my father's son". Another one wrote, "Friends usually call me by my old name".

The fact that an individual had attracted the attention of the public in one way or another also tended to prolong the life of his old name. Articles or publications dealing with such a person's life or work often include information about his name change. Also, American editors are in the habit of writing "blurbs" which, among other things, often give the reader the birthplace of an article contributor. For example, such a blurb might begin "The writer of this review, Felix Morton, born in Vienna . . ." or "German-born author Felix Jackson . . ." The contrast between the Anglo-Saxon name and the Continental birthplace, in such cases, is obvious and little work is needed to trace Morton to Mandelbaum, and Jackson to Joachimsohn.

N. What name changers think about name changing

The great majority of the name changers stated that they were satisfied with their new names.[68] The reasons, listed according to frequency, were that the change:

– had a practical value, making it easy to spell, pronounce and remember the new surname;

– helped to achieve integration, social acceptance, prestige and peace of mind;

– eliminated the immigrant element contained in the original;

– eliminated the religious element of the original.

Dissatisfaction was voiced by a minority and rested on the ground that the name change:

– had not been radical enough and had created a name which still sounded "foreign";

– had been too radical and had led to a discrepancy between an Americanized name and a foreign accent;

– broke the family continuity;

– was unnecessary ("a Jewish name is no handicap");

[68] One person asserted, "I am perfect happy with name I choiced".

– had been undertaken on a temporary basis only, for the duration of military service, but could not be undone without creating new complications.

Both satisfied and dissatisfied name changers belonged to all age groups. A few individuals in both the "satisfied" and "dissatisfied" groups volunteered the statement that a name change in this country was not as important as they had assumed. Some of them, in fact, wrote that if at the time they had known as much about name changing as they knew now, they would have kept the old surname.

It was obvious that many name changers were reluctant to discuss the subject, at least with an outsider. First, over two-thirds of the people who received the name questionnaire and also a follow-up reminder failed to respond. Among these there were a few selected persons whose cooperation was specially requested by personal, individualized letters. For example, one of them was a psychoanalyst who suppressed the Jewish part of his hyphenated name but some twenty years before had written an article about Jewish family names (including name-changing) in America – which at that time he signed with his full, hyphenated name. Then there was a name changer whose refusal to reply began with the words:

"Before I answer your one hundred-odd "important" questions as to why Mr. Jones changed to Mr. Smith and Mr. Smith changed to Jones, let me ask *you* some questions . . ."

Such sensitivity to questions about name changes is not unusual. One refugee from Germany was asked why he had changed his name. "He blushed and replied that he did so because of his 'strong desire to become an American.' But at the same time it was rather obvious that this desire was coupled with a strong dislike of other refugees."[69] Another individual whose pronounced German accent

[69] Saenger, p. 121. One observer has described the ambivalent attitude of some refugees towards other refugees as follows: "The newly arrived refugee, finding himself among foreigners, naturally sought to contact fellow-refugees with whom he could feel at home and relax from the continuous strain of having to cope with a foreign enviroment. But at the same time he was craving to terminate his refugee existence and merge into the new community. These conflicting tendencies created in him a peculiar ambivalence toward his group. Anxious to separate from his countrymen, he was at the same time emotionally dependent on them." Lourié, Anton, p. 90. It has also been noted that "the expression 'refugee' from the lips of

clashed with his Anglo-Saxon name told the writer that he wouldn't dream of revealing his original name and added, "Whatever people tell you — don't believe them when they claim they acted for patriotic reasons". Where insecurity is even stronger such incidents as the following reportedly privately by a physician can occur: "I was staying in a New Jersey hotel frequented by refugees. One day the owner introduced a guest, Mr. X. who had changed his name, to another guest, but by mistake used Mr. X.'s old family name. X. turned white in the face, pulled the owner into a corner and berated him in no uncertain terms."

The feeling of insecurity was described by one name changer as follows: "Of course you feel uneasy the first two years. When somebody asks for your name, you blush and stammer. You have kind of lost your identity. But then you get used to it."

0. Reactions to name changing inside and outside the refugee group

The people reached in the sample survey were aware that their new cognomens did not go unnoticed by the world around them. Most of them reported having heard only favorable comments. This was natural since it would not be polite for an outsider to criticize a name change in the presence of him who has gone through some trouble acquiring a new surname and obviously disliking his old one.

Such favorable comments were said by the name changers to run along the following lines: "people considered it more practical;" "Jewish people said it was a good idea;" and "everybody was pleased about this step towards complete Amercanization."

On the other hand, unfavorable comments known to name changers were described in these terms: "the name change was said to be unnecessary;" "people wanted to know my reasons;" "native Americans dislike the new name which is less colorful than the old one;" and "members of my family in Europe dislike my new name."

The judge granting the change was reported by most individuals not to have commented at all but when he did, his remarks were

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an American has a most distasteful sound to the immigrant; nevertheless, the word is freely used by the immigrants themselves . . . when they refer to one another." Stock, Ernest, p. 582.

more often than not unfavorable. This was in keeping with Davie's statement, "The usual procedure of an American court is to berate the applicant mildly and then to confirm his desire."[70] In addition, evidence was received from outside the sample survey that occasionally Jewish judges failed to approve a name change when they suspected that the applicant wished to hide his Jewishness.

A critical picture of a refugee who changes his name because he wishes to assimilate and climb the social ladder is drawn by Joseph Wechsberg in his short story, *The rules of the game.*[71] The central character, a Viennese who comes to this country at the age of 34, changes his name from Blum to Bradford . . .: "His European friends hadn't approved of the change. Dr. Redlich, a lifelong friend of Walter's dead parents, had said that Blum was an old Jewish name, nothing to be ashamed of. 'It was good enough for your grandfather in Poland, and for your father when he moved to Vienna. It should be good for you here. It isn't even hard to spell.'

"It's not American," Walter had said. "It makes you conspicuous. People like you and I must try to submerge, Dr. Redlich. We must get Americanized fast. We haven't much time left."

"There's no sense pretending," Dr. Redlich had said sullenly. "Walter Bradford. Ridiculous. As soon as you open your mouth, they'll hear your accent —"

"My accent is all right," Walter had said quickly. "After all, my two years at Cambridge . . ." He had given an angry shrug. Dr. Redlich had a way of meddling in other people's affairs. "If you want to play the game, you've got to observe the rules.' . . ."

In essence, however, Walter remains an insecure individual. Wechsberg, himself a refugee from the German-speaking part of Czechoslovakia, builds his short story around an incident where Walter is asked for a "hair of the dog" and fails to understand the term. To admit his ignorance would be to admit that after years of intense trying he has not become Americanized the way he understands Americanization. Try as he might to observe the rules, he has not learned to play the game. The story ends on a note of deep frustration.

The subject of name changing among refugees also received the attention of *Aufbau*, in an editorial by Manfred George who approved

[70] Davie, Maurice R., *World immigration*, p. 505.

[71] *New Yorker* (New York) 25:28–33, October 1, 1949.

of the idea in principle but warned his readers of certain dangers.[72] In a reference to Louis Adamic's book, *What's your name?*, George alluded to the difficulties of some immigrants of earlier periods who were burdened with the knowledge that their foreign accents and their Anglo-Saxon surnames did not harmonize. As for refugees, he wrote:

"Many of the Jewish immigrants who came here in recent years also changed their names, the new name usually containing an echo of the original surname. Of course, there is no reason to change strictly Jewish names, for, like Italian names, these are generally known and respected. But there can be no objection if Jews starting a new life try to drop names which arrogant anti-Semitic officials in Europe at one time pinned on their forefathers.

"As a matter of fact, in the United States a sensible change of name is regarded favorably, as an external symptom of assimilation. The emphasis is on the word 'sensible.' The choice of a name demands tact. Only very naive and tactless persons go to extremes when they select a name. Immigrants who take names which are virtually the hereditary property of old families display the characteristics of the *nouveau riche* and of psychological insecurity. It is simply not done to adopt all of a sudden some such name as Wilson, Blair, Biddle, Jefferson, Revere, Cummings, Lincoln or Washington. Not only does the choice of such a name excite ill feeling, it also invites scorn and derision. And ultimately the mocking of the community kills what had originally been a sensible intention. A person who decides to change his name should be guided by three principles: moderation, tact and unobtrusiveness."

Conclusion

The direct or implied criticism by refugees quoted above of other refugees who change their names in order to hide their national-religious background does not stand in a class by itself. Such men as Adamic, for instance, had previously criticized immigrants of other nationalities and faiths whom they suspected of name transformation for comparable reasons. Among Jewish writers, some approve of name changing in principle while others vigorously denounce those name changers whom they accuse of escapism. The

[72] George, Manfred, Müssen Sie Washington heißen? *Aufbau*, August 6, 1943.

latter critics deplore what they consider the sacrifice of one's heritage and the surrender to prejudice, while they also deny the effectiveness of the name change procedure.[73] These observations raise important ethical questions which deserve detailed study but are outside the scope of this paper.

From the sociologist's point of view, "both the martyr and the conformer [in matters of name changing] make a contribution to the structure of human society."[74]

So far as name changing in the United States in general is concerned, the results of several investigations of its reasons may be summarized as follows: Name changing is an attempt of the individual to integrate with society. Three principal reasons can be observed: a desire to eliminate a difficult name which differs from the general linguistic pattern; a desire to hide one's ethnic and religious background; or a desire to avoid a name which has unpleasant connotations, arouses ridicule and so on.[75]

Investigators have paid particular attention to name changers who felt that their patronymic was often the only clue for the provocation of adverse discrimination.[76] The foundation in actual life of such fears has been shown by, among others, Louis Adamic[77] and has been summarized by Judge Learned Hand in his words "Our names are useful or dangerous to us according to the associations they carry among those who hear them . . ."[78] Because an evaluation of themselves stops with an evaluation of their names, some persons come to regard their names as enemies.[79] Name changing,

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[73] Cohn, David L., I've kept my name. *Atlantic monthly* (Boston) 181:42–44, April 1948; reprinted in *Reader's digest* (Pleasantville, N.Y.) 52:16–18, June 1948; Kugelmass, J. Alvin, Name-changing – and what it gets you. *Commentary* 14:145–150, August 1952; Katz, Shlomo, So you changed your name. *Congress weekly* 15:8–9, February 6, 1948.

[74] Arthaud, R. L. and others, The relation of family name preferences to their frequency in the culture. *Journal of social psychology* (Provincetown, Mass.) 28:34, August 1947.

[75] Stonequist, Everett V., *The marginal man; a study in personality and culture conflict.* Chicago, Scribner (c1937), p. 99.

[76] Arthaud, p. 20.

[77] Adamic, Louis, *What's your name?* Also Duncan, Hannibal G., *Immigration and assimilation.* Boston, Heath, (c1933), p. 701, 715, 771, 786-787, 859.

[78] Mencken, *The American language; supplement II*, p. 418.

[79] Schettler, Clarence, Does your name identify you? *Social forces* (Chapel Hill, N.C.) 21:72, December 1942.

they hope, will help them to achieve desired statuses, roles and participation otherwise impeded or prohibited.[80]

The evidence gathered in this paper suggests that the three principal reasons mentioned above also influenced the name changers among the refugees. These individuals followed a trend that had operated among earlier and contemporary immigrants for a long time.

Inasmuch as the immigration of the refugees was the direct result of political events in Central Europe, the question arises whether their name changing was in any way related to those events. A certain relationship did, in fact, exist. That is to say, on the one hand some refugees, in a spirit of defiance, doubly resolved to keep their names – no matter what abuse National Socialists might have heaped upon them (see above, p. 158) – or, affirming their Jewish heritage, exchanged them for even more Jewish, that is, Hebrew ones (see above, p. 161). More often, however, the shock of Nazism tended to provide an incentive for name changing, though not necessarily the only incentive, as follows:

1. Some refugees tried to remove the symbolic link which they felt existed, or thought others might imagine to exist, between themselves and a Germany dominated by National Socialists. That link was a German name.

2. In all refugees the loss of their country created a strong psychological urge to integrate in America as fast as possible. Name changing made some refugees feel more "at home" or "better Americans."

3. National Socialism activated or re-inforced the desire of some refugees to escape what they considered the burden of Jewishness and a Jewish name.

4. National Socialists atrocities called for protective measures. Some refugee soldiers and some refugees living within the grasp of German armies adopted new names for self preservation.

On a linguistic plane, name changing among refugees conformed by and large to the practices of other immigrants with comparable names. Both common-place and unusual names were adapted to the general name patterns, by various devices such as shortening,

[80] Broom, Leonard and others, Characteristics of 1,107 petitioners for change of name. *American Sociological Review* (New York) 20:39, February 1955.

translating or Anglicization. Much variety and colorfulness was thus eliminated from the list of patronymics of American citizens and citizens-tobe – as so often before. The numbers of more or less common names grew at the expense of the more distinctive and "visible" ones. Individuals adopted such common names intentionally: in order to avoid attracting attention, they purposely narrowed the gap between their original names and the more widely known ones, usually of Anglo-Saxon character.

The basic decision to change a name depended largely on the psychological make-up of the individual. It also depended, it is true, on external conditions but it is the impression of this writer that they were not always of first importance. For example, a good many name changers altered their names in order to avoid anti-Semitic prejudice, which does exist. Actually, if such prejudice were as strong as these persons felt it to be, one would expect a much higher percentage of name changing by refugees in a country where changing is so easy. The fact is, however, that changes of distinctly Jewish or German names are comparatively few compared to the unchanged ones.

What actually led to the decision were the characteristics of the individual, that is, his sensitivity to prejudice or to frequent misspellings of his name and similar irritations on the one hand, and his tenacity and pride in preserving the religious-cultural-national antecedents symbolized by his name.

Again, awareness of the problem differs from individual to individual. The gnawing doubts of some persons about their names had no counterpart in the minds of some others whose self-confidence was well developed and who, never disturbed by thoughts about such "trifles" as a family name, were successful in this country in spite of their cognomens.

Another factor was the prestige of a name which preceded its bearer to these shores. For a well known scholar, for example, to discard his name after landing in the U.S.A. would have been tantamount to obliterating his fame. In contrast, persons in run-of-the-mill occupations, often working in highly competitive fields, had nothing to gain economically but perhaps something to lose by preserving telltale names.

It is noteworthy that the minds of some refugees were made up before they ever set foot on American soil. Some had attempted

to change their names in Europe but had met with legal or administrative difficulties there.

Name preferences varied greatly. As a result, not infrequently a number of seemingly unrelated "Americanized" names all originated from one basic family name (Cohn, for example). In rare cases, a name abandoned as undesirable by one family was precisely the name selected as a desirable one by another family. (For example, one family dropped the name Appel in favor of Allan while another family by the name of Apfel adopted Appel instead: one family discarded the name Goldschmidt and selected Schmidt while another family dropped Schmidt and adopted Smith instead). Whether or not a name was "tolerable" depended on the individual bearer.

Name changing occurred more frequently among persons of professional background.

In the opinion of some name changers, Jewish names were not as much of a handicap, particularly in business, as they themselves had anticipated.

To a large extent the basic purpose of the name changers — to avoid inconvenience and "dwell in amity"[81] was fulfilled. Most persons reached in the sample survey expressed satisfaction with their new names. As a social device which heightened an individual's being at ease with his environment, name changing was often successful.

This is not to say that name changing and integration were synonymous. Many other factors were involved, above all the personality of the name changer. A minority of the people reached in the sample survey were dissatisfied with their new patronymics. They had either adopted a name not suited to their personal characteristics (as when a person who was very conscious of his strong foreign accent took on a typically Anglo-Saxon name) or had not sufficiently considered the implications of a change such as a feeling of loss of identity or continuity.

Some disappointments of this sort might be avoided in the future if immigrants were able to consult with competent persons on the feasibility of name changing.

The great mass of the refugees, it was pointed out (see above, page 139), was successfully integrated in a rather short time. Most

of them preserved their old names, and those who did not form but a small percentage. However, it would be misleading to conclude that name changing is of little importance in the integration process. The name changers acted in the belief that a new cognomen would enhance their adjustment. Their actions showed that in their image of America and of their role in the new country there existed certain tensions, difficulties, conflicts and also hopes of overcoming them. Of these conflicts, more persons may have been aware than the numbers of the name changers indicate. Whether that image was well founded is less important than that these persons believed it to be true and acted accordingly. The name changers mirror the fact that integration is neither an automatic nor an easy process and that ideas and facts alike play an important part in shaping its course.

[61] Arthaud, p. 34.

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Karok Names

WILLIAM BRIGHT

The Karok are an American Indian tribe living along the middle course of the Klamath River in northwestern California. Along with neighboring tribes, they participate in a distinctive culture which has been studied most thoroughly among the Yurok and Hupa. In the field of names, Yurok customs have been described in detail by Waterman, who gives information on personal as well as geographical names.[1] Karok names have been noted at less length, principally by Kroeber.[2] Recent linguistic work[3] now provides an opportunity for further study of Karok naming patterns.

An intense feeling for geographical location has been repeatedly noted by students of northwestern Californian culture; thus Kroeber and Gifford speak of "an impulse toward localization which pervades . . . the whole culture."[4] One manifestation of this is the abundance of place names in use; names are given not only to mountains, ridges, streams, ponds, fishing-spots, acorn-groves, and villages, but also to sections of villages, to sweat-houses, to dwelling-houses, and to large numbers of mere rocks, hardly noticeable to an outsider. It seems to be no longer possible to collect Karok place-names in the quantities which Waterman published for Yurok. Even so, names for about 275 places were recorded in the process of linguistic study.[5]

[1] T. T. Waterman, *Yurok Geography*, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology 16:5, Berkeley, 1920.

[2] A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 78, Washington, 1925; *Karok Towns*, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology 35:4, Berkeley, 1936.

[3] William Bright, *The Karok Language*, University of California Publications in Linguistics, vol. 13, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1957.

[4] A. L. Kroeber and E. W. Gifford, *World Renewal*, Anthropological Records 15:2, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1955, p. 31.

[5] All place names listed in the anthropological literature were tested with my informants. Those which they did not recognize are not included in the present study, as most of them could not be phonemically retranscribed or accurately analyzed.

The bulk of these names designate settled spots of some type — villages or parts of villages. In regard to their linguistic analysis, names of Karok settlements fall into three classes: 1) those which cannot be analyzed into meaningful parts — which "mean nothing" to the native speaker; 2) those which can be partially or doubtfully analyzed; and 3) those which can be readily analyzed, both by the linguist and by the native.

Names are available for a total of 117 Karok villages; since two sites are named *'iní·nač*,[6] there are 116 names for analysis. Of these, 30 are unanalyzable or nearly so. Those which offer no clue to analysis at all include such names as *kú·yiv*, *pasirú·'u·vre·* (English "Presidio Bar", probably by folk etymology), *pípta·s*, *tí·h* (English "Tea Bar"), and *'útke·*. Others contain recognizable suffixes, but unidentifiable stems: the diminutive *-ič* or *-ač* in *'axváhič*, *kasánnukič*, *'išipišihavní·nač*, and *pikvê·nač*; the locative ending *-ni·k* in *kasánni·k*, *kasaxánni·k*, and *tišánni·k*; the locative *-hirak* in *káttiphirak* and *tiša·nhírak*. The name *káttiphirak* should mean "where **káttip* is", and nouns ending in *-ip* are generally names of trees or bushes; but no **káttip* tree is known. The names *tišánni·k* and *tiša·nhírak* seem to contain the same stem **tiša·n*, but such a stem is not found elsewhere. For still other names, one might invent analyses which, however, are improbable in the light of Karok grammar. E. g., *vunxárak* might be said to contain *vun-* "flow", *-xára* "long", and the locative suffix *-k*; but such a combination of verb, adjective, and nominal suffix is highly unlikely. In all such names, then, neither the linguist nor the native speaker can offer a valid analysis. It may be conjectured that some such names stem from a language other than Karok, but nothing of this nature is proven at present.

Another 20 village-names can be partially or doubtfully analyzed. Examples of partial analysis are *'ivrattírih*, from **'ivrat* (unidentifiable) plus *tírih* "wide"; and *puriθ'ípxuv*, from *púriθ* "huckleberry" plus **'ipxuv* (unidentifiable). A case of doubtful analysis is *'akvattí·v*; this is said by some informants to mean "raccoon-ear", from *'akva·t* "raccoon" and *tí·v* "ear"; but such a combination would normally have penultimate accent, *'akvátti·v*. The native analysis may there-

[6] Karok words are here cited in phonemic transcription, as in the Appendix, "Karok Village Sites", to *The Karok Language*. The transcription used in the Lexicon section of the same work is not phonemic, but morphophonemic.

fore be a folk etymology. Informants tend to disagree on whether such names as these "mean something" or not.

The residue of 66 village-names yield readily to analysis. They may be classified according to their meaning into the following categories:[7]

1) Terms referring to the physical characteristics of a site. Most of these mention physiographical features, for example:

rocks (*'as*): *'asavúrik* "flowing in under a rock".
cliffs (*'áxxa·-*): *'axa·vúrik* "flowing in under a cliff".
clearings (*tíšra·m*): *'asivtíšra·m* "cave-clearing".
deerlicks (*'išra·m*): *'išra·mhírak* "where there is a deerlick".
rapids (*'í·n*): *'í·npi·t* "new rapids".
ponds (*'úkra·m*): *'ukram'íppan* "pond-end".

All the above features occur in more than one village name; there are isolated cases of reference to a meadow, a gap, a knoll, a peninsula, and an island. It is interesting that there is no specific mention of creeks or of the Klamath River (*'iškè·š*), near which all the Karok villages were situated. There are, however, several occurrences of the verb "to flow", *vur* or *vun* (as in the examples above.)

This category also contains a few references to man-made constructions, e. g. *'asape·č'íppan* "end of a rock wall". Finally, there are several references to plants; e. g., *kusripiš'amáyav* "delicious madrone berries", *xavíšti·m* "arrowwood-edge".

2) Terms referring to human activities carried on at a site. Examples are: *'ikčúnna·m* "grinding place", *'imθatváram* "shinny field", *'iní·nač* "little river-crossing", *'ipu·nváram* "resting place", *'inna·m* "World Renewal celebrating place", *sak'iripirak* "flint-digging place", *sarum'ihvu·nvírak* "pine-root digging place".

3) Terms of historical or mythological reference. The only clear case is *'ame·kyá·ra·m* "salmon-making place", referring to the mythic origin of salmon.[8] A term of possible historical reference is *'e·pákkunih* "tree falling down".

4) Directional terms. These contain the elements *ma-* "uphill", *sa-* "downhill", *ka-* "upriver", and *yu-* "downriver", which the

[7] This attempt at classification is suggested by, though not identical with, the scheme offered by Madison Beeler, "On Etymologizing Indian Place-Names," *Names*, V (1957), pp. 236–40.

[8] *The Karok Language*, Text No. 17, pp. 204–7.

Karok use instead of "north, south, east, west". Some of these place-names are without any stated point of reference: *káro·kam* "uphill upriver", *sárukhinva* "somewhat downhill". Others mention a base point: *samvaro·ka'kúkam* "a little upriver from a creek", *tihkáro·m* "uphill upriver from *tí·h*", *tíhyurukam* "uphill downriver from *tí·h*", *xavnamnihič θufyú·0* "downriver across-stream from Wilson Creek".

Besides the above, there are a number of names for which the linguistic meaning is clear, but the broader meaning-reference is not. Examples are *'ačví·vhirak* "where there is a bird" (or ". . are birds"), *'ássipak* "in a basket", *čí·vníššukač* "little pecking-out", *'impúrak* "in flour", *pikváhač* "little plume", *samsírihirak* "shining place", and *sihtírih* "broad awl". It is not clear wheter these are references to physical features, or historical and mythological references. Some, of course, may be formations of folk-etymology, whose apparent linguistic structure does not reflect their true origin.

Besides names of villages, the data include 18 names for sections or wards of the larger towns. These fall into much the same categories as above: four completely unanalyzable, two partly analyzable, and the rest with the following types of meanings: Referring to physical characteristics, as *'axa·'ippan* "cliff-top". Referring to human activities, as *'apuruvánni·k* "sorcerer-place" (the residents of which had a reputation for witchcraft). Directional, as *sa'várih* "downhillward" and *yuhtí·mič* "little downriver edge".

Another twenty-four names designate not villages but, according to my principal informant, simply "places." Some of these are listed in Kroeber's *Karok Towns*, however, and were probably inhabited at one time. Of these, six are unanalyzable, four are partially analyzable, and the rest fall into the following categories: Referring to physical characteristics, as *'išra·m* "deerlick" and *'asaxxárahsa 'uvê·hrivirak* "where long rocks stand". Referring to human activities, as *ta·krípa·k* "at dip-netting". Mythological: two clear examples are *paθakhíram* "kneeling place" and *xú·x mukrivruhvánnamič* "*xu·x*'s little rolling place". These derive from the myth of Duckhawk, who knelt at the former site to shoot his wife, the legendary monster *xu·x*, who in her death agonies rolled about in the latter.[9] Directional terms include *θufkáro·m* "uphill upriver

[9] *The Karok Language*, Texts 25–26, pp. 220–21.

from a creek", and *ko·č'ivkô·θkam* "across-stream upriver side of *kó·č'i·v.*" There are also some terms of unclear reference; one of them, *kitaxríhak* "at a wing", may fit Beeler's category of terms referring to body parts.[10]

Karok names of creeks invariably end in the word *θú·ʃ* "creek", and usually refer to neighboring villages. Thus *'afčufíčθu·ʃ* (English "Crawford Creek") is named for the village of *'afčú·fič*, *yuhnámθu·ʃ* (English "Ukonom Creek") for the village *yuhna·m.* Of the exceptions, a few are unanalyzable, like *'imkanvirá θθu·ʃ* (English "Merrill Creek"); a few are directional, like *yurúkθu·ʃ* "downriver creek" (English "Bluff Creek"); and at least one is mythological – *pihné·ʃθu·ʃ* "coyote creek" (English "Wilder Gulch"), so named because the mythic Coyote had his fish-dam at its mouth.[11]

The balance of Karok place-name data refers principally to mountains. Some of these names are unanalyzable, such as *'û·niv* (English "Merrill Mountain.") Some are physically descriptive, such as *'asá'u·y* "rock mountain". An important religious or mythological reference is *'ikxariyáttu·yšip* "spirit mountain" (English "Offield Mt."), designating the sacred mountain of the Katimin world-renewal rite; people who live near this mountain, however, call it simply *'u·y* "The Hill". A possible mythological reference is *'ára 'u'ipamvâ·natihirak* "where a person eats himself" (English "Medicine Mt."), though the myth involved is not known.

Besides names for Karok places, the Karok language has its own names for important towns of neighboring tribes. In this they follow the usage described for the Yurok by Waterman:

> "They even assign Yurok names to all the important places in the territory of their neighbors. They are not peculiar in this, for the Hupa, to go no further, do exactly the same thing. Thus it happens that each important place inside Yurok territory and outside has a series of names, in three or four different languages. Sometimes these paraphrase each other, but often they seem to be totally independent in the different tongues."[12]

Most of the "foreign" village-names recorded in Karok refer to

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[10] Beeler, op. cit., p. 239. English place names in the Karok area contain several examples: Bluenose, Head Camp, Nancy's Elbow.

[11] *The Karok Language*, Text No. 6, pp. 184–5.

[12] *Yurok Geography*, p. 186.

Yurok settlements; they bear no clear relation to the Yurok names either in sound or meaning. Examples are:

'ansáfri·k "place of *'ansaf-*" (meaning not known): Yurok *weitspus* "confluence".

'asvúffam "water **vúffam*" (meaning not known): Yurok *kenek* (no meaning given by Waterman).

'â·vnay (unanalyzable): Yurok *kepel* "house-pit".

firipámyu·sah (unanalyzable): Yurok *pekwan* (no meaning given).

'itúkkuk (unanalyzable): Yurok *pekwtut* (no meaning given).

pahípri·k "pepperwood place": Yurok *rłrgr* (no meaning given).

θúffip "creek-tree" (doubtful analysis): Yurok *rekwoi* "creek-mouth".

Turning to personal names, the greatest amount of information for northwestern California is given by Waterman for the Yurok. According to this source,[12] personal names were not given to children until the age of eight or nine years; these were usually, though not always, untranslatable, and certain names tended to run in particular families. At marriage, however, these names were discarded and never again used. Instead, descriptive names were applied. A man who owned a house would be regularly called by the name of the house. Other people would be called by terms expressing their marital status with reference to the houses in which they were born or into which they married. In addition, people were frequently called by nicknames referring to some trait of body or personality.

The brief accounts of Karok naming practice given by Kroeber[14] and by Driver[15] give a rather different picture. Kroeber stresses the taboos with which the Karok surround personal names: people are reluctant to tell their own names, or those of people close to them; addressing a person by his name is extremely impolite; and any mention of a dead person's name is a mortal offense.[16] For

[13] *Yurok Geography*, pp. 214–18.

[14] *Handbook of the Indians of California*, pp. 107–8.

[15] Harold E. Driver, *Culture Element Distributions: X. Northwest California.* Anthropological Records 1:6, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1939. Pp. 351 and 408.

[16] A special vocabulary exists for reference to the dead: *ko·himmačko·* "deceased father", *'ihku·s* "deseased mother", *xaká·nič* "deceased sibling", *xakan'inna·m* "deceased spouse", *kó·k* "any deceased person". Speaking the name of a dead person is an offense called *pitaxyárih*, translated by the Indians as "swearing"; for a text on this subject, see *The Karok Language*, pp. 142–4.

these reasons, says Kroeber, names referring to residence and marital status, as well as nicknames, are used by way of circumlocution.

The information of Driver states that a child might be named after either paternal or maternal kin; it also recognizes naming after villages and descriptive nicknames. Driver notes that a certain Karok man had three names, translated by him as "salmon heart", "salmon's tail drying", and "penis".[17]

The question remains: were the names given to the Karok in childhood used throughout their lives, only being replaced by circumlocutions when politeness required; or were the childhood names discarded at marriage, as described by Waterman for the Yurok? In a personal communication, Kroeber now writes: "The most characteristic thing about Yurok names is the reference to people by their marital status and house name - or, at a distance, village name . . . Waterman is essentially right on this, though not on personal names being 'never used after marriage.' . . . The Yurok told me the Karok also referred to people by spot and status, but I got almost no names from the Karok except child or nicknames." As my own collection of Karok personal names likewise involves very few "spot and status" terms, it seems likely that names given to Karok children were used all their lives, though nicknames might be given as well.

Out of 61 personal names recorded, nine men's and thirteen women's names are unanalyzable, except for an occasional diminutive suffix, *-ič* or *-ač* or *-iš*. Sample men's names of this type are *'é·hkan*, *kittifiš*, and *váskak*; women's are *'anihô·hič*, *hánu·n* and *sávak*. Such names as these, having no known meaning, seem unlikely to be nicknames and were probably bestowed in childhood. It may be noted that the name *'é·hkan* was approximated as "Ike" by the white settlers, which suggests that its bearer retained the name during his adult life.[18]

Partial analysis is possibel for seven men's names -- such as *'išriké·yav*, containing *yav* "good" — and two women's names — such as *ya·mačkáre·*, containing *yâ·mač* "pretty". These also are unlikely to be nicknames. Complete analysis is possible for 19 men's

[17] The last is given as *süci'tihan*, probably phonemic *si·šhítihan* "having a penis".

[18] The name has given rise to the English place-name "Ike's Falls" (Karok *yu'tim'i·n*). In accordance with local usage, it also became the surname of *'é·hkan*'s wife (Mary Ike) and daughter (Emily Ike).

and ten women's names; some of these are undoubtedly nicknames. They fall into the following classes:

1) Nine men's and six women's names are nouns derived from verbs. Some indicate the doer of an action, e. g. *ka·rimčúpha·n* "bad talker" (man), *'û·pvanič* "little root-digger" (woman). Others indicate the action itself, e. g. *'ikrivrúhuvruk* "rolling down over" (man) and *pištú·krav* "picking into again" (woman). Two of these are known to be nicknames: *'e·θ'akúnva·n* "slug-hunter", referring to a certain man's habitual amusement as a child, and *mačnáttač* "little flash", the name of a male sorcerer reputed to give off flashes of light in the dark.

2) A few names refer to physical characteristics, and seem likely to be nicknames: *'afišrihanxára* "tall young man" and *yúppipux* "eyeless" (a blind woman).

3) A few names refer to place of residence or origin: *pa'axa·ssúruk* "he of *'axa·ssúruk*", *pasamvaró·tti·m* "he of the creek-edge". The only one giving status as well as age, in the Yurok manner, refers to the Yurok town of Kepel – *'amnaykû·tič* "little Kepel grandfather" (or "grandson"); it is not known whether the person so named was actually of Yurok origin.

4) A residue of names have miscellaneous types of reference: *či·pákpa·k* "robin" (a man), *ya·čkaní·č* "little daughter", *má·kič* "little Maggie". The woman's name *támčih* is said to be baby-talk for *tá né·mčak* "I'm burnt". The man's name *ta·ksíkkih* "give me a spoon" may also derive from a childish utterance.

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Cottage Grove from Coast to Coast: The Genealogy of a Place Name

AUDREY R. DUCKERT

Once a colleague asked me: "What was the name of that place you came from in Wisconsin?" and when I answered, "Cottage Grove," all he said was, "you made it up."

Well, I didn't, of course, and the true village is more amusing and more interesting than anything I could make up. Besides, ever since fourth grade, I had known that the town was given its rustic name back in 1840 by its second settler, William C. Wells, who built his cottage – a log cabin – in a natural grove of the big burr oaks that are so much a part of the landscape of southern Wisconsin. And I had been aware, chiefly through missent mail, that there were other Cottage Groves in the country; after being accused of fabricating my own, I grew more curious about them.

My collection now numbers eleven, including "home," which is ten miles east of Madison, Wisconsin. The name quite literally spans the country, from Connecticut to California and Oregon and from Wisconsin to Texas. There are others in Minnesota, Alabama, Tennessee, Illinois, Michigan, and Indiana. Where did Cottage Grove begin? The presence of one in New England would, on the surface, invite conjecture that this name, like so many others, had moved westward with the migrating yankees in the mid-19th century. On the other hand, the desire to put a cozy complexion on a drafty log house sheltered by a few oak trees may have led to a series of on-the-spot coinages.

The first problem, then, in tracing the name, becomes one of chronology. The dean of Connecticut place name collecting, Professor Morse Allen of Trinity College, says that our eastern cousin appears first on an 1892 United States Geological Survey topographic map; later it is listed on a Central New England Railway timetable as a station 4.1 miles northwest of Hartford. Earlier maps and histories

of the area do not show it, and considering the number of localities that *were* thus named, I am much inclined to accept Professor Allen's suggestion that a pleasant name was arbitrarily assigned by the railroad, which came to that region in the 1870's. So the notion that Cottage Grove was a yankee migrant should probably be abandoned for lack of evidence.

Queries addressed to local postmasters (or to the nearest town that had one), and other information gained chiefly by rummaging in works on local history showed that most of the Cottage Groves were begun in the middle decades of the last century. It was not possible to establish a specific christening date for each one; (anyone who has researched through the rare Victorian rhetoric of the "subscribed" county histories will understand why); but all of the areas concerned fit into a mid-century settlement pattern. No Cottage Groves were recorded anywhere before 1840; thus Wisconsin's founded that year, appears to be the oldest of them all.

The next question is this: When eleven towns in the country have the same name, is there a tie between them – perhaps one of common origin? My answer, after considerable research and even some creative imagination has to be "no." I am unable to demonstrate a single consistent thread in their settlement histories – apart from the time element, or to turn up one possible onomastic Johnny Appleseed who might have spread the name across the country because he liked it.

It makes interesting speculation to consider how the name originated, and probably re-originated, in eleven different places during a 50-year period. Raymond Johnson, postmaster at Cottage Grove, Minnesota, says his town was named in 1850 by J. W. Furber, whose brother set up the first post office in his cottage in the grove. Five years later, G. C. Pierce (or Pearce) repeated the same performance in Oregon; and once more it was a grove of oak trees where the cottage stood. Mrs. Verda Hampton, former postmaster at the Indiana office (now consolidated with Liberty), and a keen local historian, says the town in Union County, Indiana was settled 100 years ago and named because a whole grove of cottages – all alike – was built in the early years of its settlement. The origins of the other Cottage Groves remain obscure; the Cottage Grove Primitive Baptist Church in Saline County, Illinois was using the name in 1849, apparently before there was a formal village by that name.

Its postoffice-hood was brief; from 1898–1909. Illinois had another Cottage Grove once, but it changed its name to Hugo.

The English Place Name Society Publications seemed the logical place to look for the oldest Cottage Grove of the English-speaking world, and it is in the Essex volume that the oldest possible relative, *Cowches Grove*, is recorded from 1544. *Grove Cottage*, in Devonshire, was the home of Edward de la Grove in 1299. Both elements are popular in the place-names of rural England; *Grove Ho*, *Grove Spinney*, and *The Cottages* are a sampling.

But whether we construe the apposition in the name to mean a cottage in a grove, a grove of cottages, or cottages on Mr. Grove's land, we are dealing with a name that seems to have moved about and sprung up without the force of any concerted tradition behind it; a name, in short, that *everybody* made up.

Curiosity about coincidences in nomenclature is one of the most natural things in the world; people are always amused to hear of others with the same name and to find out what they are like. And so we are bound to ask whether the Cottage Groves of the country have anything in common besides a name.

Some amusing coincidences in name as well as circumstance came out during my inquiry; Raymond Johnson, a carpenter in Wisconsin, was amused to hear that he had a homonym in the postmaster of Minnesota's Cottage Grove; a striking parallel in a father-daughter succession to the postoffice and general store appeared between Wisconsin's Ruth Graves and Indiana's Verda Hampton. Adjoining the township of Cottage Grove, Wisconsin is the township of *Blooming Grove*; in Indiana there is a similar pair, almost as close together. An even less likely name, *Equality*, is shared by towns near the Cottage Groves in Coosa County, Alabama and in Saline County, Illinois. There are probably many more such coincidences, and it might be great fun to collect them, though they would perhaps be more at home in the transactions of the Fortean Society.

And what do the towns themselves have in common? We might put it this way: There is Cottage Grove, Oregon – a busy lumbering town with a Chamber of Commerce, 4100 people within its limits and another 2000 just outside – there is this one bustling Cottage Grove, and then there are the other ten.

In California, as in Illinois, the name has occurred twice; one of them has been absorbed into San Jose; the other, in Siskiyou

County, has a population of 10 (you send the mail to Clear Creek.) Other Cottage Groves have become parts of Houston, Texas and Detroit, Michigan; one in Oklahoma never made a major league atlas or the *United States Postal Guide*; and there are no longer post offices at Cottage Grove in Indiana, Illinois, or Connecticut. In fact, the great unifying factor among these towns is size — or, more precisely, lack of it. Cottage Grove, Wisconsin had 372 people last census and ranks second to the one in Oregon; Cottage Grove, Illinois, according to Rand-McNally's 1957 figures, has 4; and Hugo, Illinois (see Cottage Grove) has 25. Minnesota reports an unofficial 240 in its Cottage Grove; the 1950 census allows them 160. None of the others even reach 200.

Students of personal names have noticed that many people have a rather definite concept of what sort of person the wearer of a name is, even though he had nothing to say about its becoming his. Percy has to prove himself *not* to be a sissy; Otto has to convince a girl that he can be as attractive as if he were named Craig; Lavinia is expected to be an old maid, and Gertie a giggler. Perhaps here we have a similar situation in place names: there is no doubt that many of the pretentious names given to marshy subdivisions today and to the numerous "paper towns" during the era of westward expansion involved a good bit of wishful thinking. They were given because they carried the proper connotations.

And so it seems quite possible that the very name Cottage Grove has been a considerable factor in keeping its towns small, to be sure, there are many more vital factors that determine the size and destiny of any community; but look through the index of the big Rand-McNally sometime: *Cottage Hill*, *Cottage Farms*, *Cottage Place*, even *Cottage City* – and none of them amounts to a hill of beans as far as population figures are concerned. I wouldn't contend that changing the name of a Cottage Grove anywhere on the face of the earth to *Busy Bee City* or *Atomicville* could make it appreciably different from what it is today; but I do submit that over the years, the rural overtones of the name have had their effect. The places that wear it pride themselves — even as their city cousin from Oregon does — on being friendly residential communities; on being, to put it plain, small towns.

Harvard University

The Name of the Pelasgians

ALBERT J. VAN WINDEKENS

In Greek and Latin texts the Pelasgians (Gk. Πελασγοί, Lat. *Pelasgi*) appear to have inhabited Greece and adjacent areas and also Italy before the coming of the Greeks, Illyrians and Italics known in the historical periods.[1] As for the origin of the name denoting this people, three possibilities are to be taken into account: 1° Πελασγοί – *Pelasgi* is a genuinely Greek, Illyrian or Italic word; 2° it belongs to a pre-Greek (= pre-Illyrian and pre-Italic) non-Indo-European language; 3° there is also the possibility that the name is pre-Greek, but already Indo-European.

The first view has been put forward by Kretschmer,[2] who assumes that Πελασγοί is the name given by the Greek invaders to a tribe whom they found in the Thessalian *plain*, and whom they called therefore "inhabitants of the plain". According to Kretschmer Πελασγοί contains the true-Greek word πέλαγος in its original meaning of "level space". The Greek historians and poets would have attached the name to all the autochthonous peoples of Greece. Kretschmer's explanation causes a serious morphological difficulty: in Πελασγοί < * Πελαγ-σκοί the suffix -σκος seems to function as a characteristic of an ethnic term.

This is also the objection of Alessio,[3] who defends the second hypothesis mentioned above : he regards Πελασγοί – *Pelasgi* as a borrowing from a "Mediterranean" language. From Alessio's point of view "Mediterranean" means "pre-Greek and non-Indo-European". Πελασγοί – *Pelasgi* would be parallel in formation to the well-known Ligurian names in *-asco*, such as *Bergamasco*, *Comasco*, etc.[4] Alessio compares Πελ(ασγοί), etc. with Gk. πέλλα·λίθος

[1] Cf. e. g. Krahe, *Die Indogermanisierung Griechenlands und Italiens*, Heidelberg, 1949, p. 25 and pp. 33 f.

[2] *Rev. Intern. Ét. Balk.* I, 1935, p. 382. [3] *St. Etr.* XIX, 1946–1947, pp. 166 ff.

[4] Cf. also Krahe, *Ortsnamen als Geschichtsquelle*, Heidelberg, 1949, p. 13.

(Hesychius), φελλεύς "stony ground", etc. The Πελασγοί, etc. would have been "inhabitants of the rocky district; inhabitants of the rocks". It should be pointed out that against Alessio's assumption we have the fact that the name of the Pelasgians does not exist in the form *Πελασκοί, etc. and that the Ligurian names do not show in their suffixes the supposed alternative form *-*asgo*.

Since the suggested Greek and "Mediterranean" explanations are not very persuasive, it seems reasonable to take into consideration the possibility of a pre-Greek Indo-European origin, and one is inclined therefore to seek for a solution in the light of the *Pelasgian* theory:[5] the term Πελασγοί – *Pelasgi* itself may possibly be assigned to the pre-Greek Indo-European language which has been called *Pelasgian* only because in Greek and Latin sources this is the general name for the predecessors of the Greeks and the Italics.

Indeed, the Pelasgian hypothesis affords a very satisfactory interpretation: Πελασγοί – *Pelasgi* can be derived from an Indo-European form **bhelozgho-*, which underwent three changes characteristic of the Pelasgian phonology: **o*>*a*;[6] the dissimilation of the voiced aspirates **bh*–**gh*>**b*–**g*;[7] the sound-shifting **b*>*p* and **gh*>*g*.[8] Examples of the first change are: Pel. ἄσις "slime, mud" = OHG *waso* "mud" <IE**u̯os-*;[9] Pel. παρθένος "maiden, girl" = Gk. πόρτις "calf, young maiden" <IE**por-th-*;[10] Pel. τάρανδος "reindeer (or) elk", with ταρ- = Gk. δορ(ά) "skin when taken off, hide" < IE **dor-*,[11] etc. An example illustrating both the second and the third change is Pel. πύργος "tower, fortress" = OHG *burg*, Goth. *baúrgs* "stronghold, city" < IE **bhergh-*, etc.[12] Instances of the dissimilation and sound-shifting of other voiced aspirates are: Pel. κεβ(α)λή "head" = Gk. κεφαλή < IE **ghebhel-*, etc.;[13] Pel. κίνδαξ· εὐκίνητος (Hesychius), (ὀνο)κίνδιος "(donkey-)driver" corresponding etymologically to Lat. *de-fendo* "to keep off", *of-fendo* "to push" < IE **gh*u̯*en-dh-*;[14] Pel. καβάλλης "nag" ("ἐργάτης ἵππος": Hesychius), which is related to OIr. *gabul* "forked bough, fork", OHG *gabala*, OE *gafol*, *geafel* "fork", etc. < IE **ghabh(o)l-*: the primary meaning

[5] Cf. my monographs: *Le pélasgique. Essai sur une langue indo-européenne préhellénique*, Louvain, 1952; *Contributions à l'étude de l'onomastique pélasgique*, Louvain, 1954.

[6] *Le pélasgique*, pp. 3 f. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 20. [8] *Ibid.*, pp. 13 ff.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 73. [10] *Ibid.*, pp. 125 f. [11] *KZ* LXXII, 1955, pp. 211 f.

[12] *Le pélasgique*, pp. 131 f. [13] *Ibid.*, p. 98. [14] *Ibid.*, pp. 98 ff.

of καβάλλης has been "thill-horse, shaft-horse" (cf. Mod. Germ. *Gabel*pferd).[15]

The reconstruction **bhelozgho-*, once accepted, furnishes the clue for the right explanation of Πελασγοί · *Pelasgi*: in **bhelozgho-* we may see an old compound of which the last member **ozgho-* occurs also in Gk. ὄσχος "twig, shoot, sprig", Pahl. *azg* "bough", Mod. Pers. *azay* "twig, bud". IE **bhel-* "to bloom", which is attested in several Indo-European languages (cf. e. g. Gk. φύλλον, Lat. *folium* "leaf", Lat. *flos*, Goth. *blōma* "flower", OHG *bluojen*, OE *blōwan* "to bloom"), may be discovered in the first member. The original meaning of IE **bhel-ozgho-* > Pel. Πελασγοί -- *Pelasgi* would then have been "with blooming twigs (or) boughs", used metaphorically to denote men's vital power.

Pel. Πελασγοί · *Pelasgi* < IE **bhel-ozgho-* calls for two final remarks: IE **z* is represented by Gk. σ; the name has been adapted to the Greek and Latin morphological structures: hence the endings -οι and *-i*, etc. of the thematic nouns.[16]

[15] See a forthcoming paper in *KZ*.

[16] Cf. *Le pélasgique*, p. 25 (Pelasgian loanwords in Greek).

University of Louvain (Belgium)

Editor's Page

Dr. Wilhelm F. H. Nicolaisen, assistant editor of "Scottish Studies," draws to the Editor's attention the existence of a section of "Notes on Scottish Place-Names" in that journal. He will welcome contributions from our readers relating to the usage of transplanted Scottish place-names in the United States and Canada, as well as notes concerning the study and elucidation of such names in Scotland.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Beiträge zur Namenforschung, vol. 9, no. 1
Mededelingen, vol. 34, no. 1
Namn och Bygd, vol. 45, nos. 1–4
Scottish Studies, vol. 2, pt. 1

Reviews

Exploring With Frémont. By Charles Preuss. Translated and edited by Erwin G. and Elisabeth K. Gudde. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1958. Pp. 162, 16 illustrations, map. $3.95)

The Guddes and their interest in Western Americana are well known to the readers of *Names*. It was this interest as well as the concern with the role of Germans in the exploration and settlement of California that sent them on a thirty year search for the diaries of Frémont's cartographer. The fruit of their labors is a real contribution to the history of the West.

Perhaps the greatest value of the book lies in the close-up it gives of the always controversial Frémont. Writing not to impress officialdom nor to further his own cause, Charles Preuss can be and is quite frank. His highly critical appraisal of Frémont's behaviour and actions, especially at critical junctures, help us in understanding the course of events during a brief but consequential segment of Western history.

Another feature of the Preuss diaries is their factual reporting of the disagreeable details of the journeys, the montony, the minor discomforts, the frictions. This facet is usually either neglected or overemphasized. Preuss partook in Frémont's journeys not in a spirit of adventure or even scientific curiosity but from economic necessity. This alone tends to bring sharply into focus the contrast in personality and attitudes of the two men.

Preuss' maps for Frémont are not only classics of Western cartography but also primary sources for the toponymy west of the Missouri. It is not surprising that, in editing, the author of *California Place Names* and his wife, herself an active contributor to this topic, pay special attention to place names and comment on them in numerous footnotes.

This book provides also an example of a curious censorship: the editors in keeping with the custom of the period concerned, intended to write geographical names without an accent (Santa Fe, Rio Grande) but the publisher's policy forced the accent upon them. Such inflexible policy does not seem helpful to scholarly research.

Exploring With Frémont, ably translated and edited, will be read with profit and enjoyment by students of Western explorations and Western place names.

Fritz L. Kramer

University of Nevada

Mushrooms, Russia and History. By Valentina Pavlovna Wasson and R. Gordon Wasson. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1957. 2 v. $125.00)

This two-volume set of books is extraordinary, not only in format, but also in content. Let us dispose of the format by saying that the text was printed by the Stamperia Valdonega in Verona, and the illustrations were beautifully executed by Daniel Jacomet in Paris and by Fratelli Alinari in Florence. Unfortunately, a limited edition of five hundred copies makes the work generally unavailable. The books are the result of thirty years research on mushrooms and the part they have played in the various cultures of the world. The research began when Valentin Pavlovna, a Russian emigrée and now a doctor of medicine, and Robert Gordon Wasson, a vice president of J. P. Morgan & Co., were married and discovered soon after that Mrs. Wasson loved mushrooms while Mr. Wasson abhorred them. This lead them to seek an explanation for their mushroomic predilections, and the results of their investigations are contained in these books.

The Wassons expound the theory that over the centuries the ethnic groups of the world have been divided into two mycological camps: the mycophobes, those who fear mushrooms; and the mycophiles, those who love mushrooms. It is the fate of those with Anglo-Saxon heritage to be mycophobes, while the Slavic peoples fall into the category of mycophiles. Perhaps this explanation will account for the somewhat cryptic title. So far this mycological preference has not had any ideological implications in the cold war.

In order to prove their contention the Wassons have made intensive studies of the names of mushrooms and their etymologies in various languages. Except for a few chapters in which the Wassons explain the significance of the mushroom in art and the ritual of an Indian mushroom cult in Mexico, the two volumes are devoted almost exclusively to etymologies which they use to justify their classification of all peoples as mycophiles or myco-

phobes. For example, a mushroom with a moist and sticky surface is labeled *maslianik* or butter mushroom by the mycophilic Russians, whereas the mycophobic English would call it a slimy toadstool. Through etymological intricacies too complicated to explain briefly here, the Wassons, in a chapter entitled "The Cripple, the Toad, and the Devil," have shown the relationship of these concepts to mycophobia and to "toadstool," a disparaging English word for mushroom. Of particular interest to the professional mycologist will be the chapter entitled "Unscientific Nomenclature," in which the Wassons take to task Linneas' system of binomial nomenclature, pointing out its shortcomings and inaccuracies.

One critic has protested some of the linguistic conclusions of the Wassons and has repudiated them as their own philological inventions. In all fairness it must be granted that they were working in a virgin field of scholarship. It will be the work of future scholars to corroborate or reject their claims. Whatever their findings, this work will stand as one of the greatest in the field of ethnobotany.

Incidentally, Mr. Wasson is a member of the American Name Society.

Eugene V. Muench

University of Nebraska

Who Knows What About Names?

Your secretary frequently receives queries concerning onomatological questions. These he passes on to members of the *American Name Society* who, to his knowledge, are best qualified to answer them. On these occasions he feels keenly the need for a directory of persons and their onomatologic specialties. There seems to be agreement as to the usefulness of such a directory.

Your secretary, therefore, asks each member to supply him with the necessary information for such a directory. It would be most convenient to write on one or more 3 by 5 file cards the following: 1. Name and address; 2. Areas of special onomatologic interests, past and current; 3. Pertinent publications. Any information of this nature concerning non-members would also be appreciated. Replies should be addressed to Dr. Fritz L. Kramer, Mackay School of Mines, University of Nevada, Reno, Nevada.

It is hoped that this directory will, in time, become available as a special publications of the Society.

MEMBERSHIP ROSTER SUPPLEMENT

This list contains the names of members new to the Society from April 1, 1957 to July 1, 1958, as well as some that have been inadvertenly omitted from the Membership roster published in the June 1957 number of *Names*.

American Language Institute, Baghdad, Iraq.
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University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, Georgia.
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Lucille Stewart Krisch, Rt. 11, Box 223, San Antonio, Texas.
Université Laval, Bibl. Générale, Quebec, Canada.
Donald W. Lee, Moulton Hill Rd., Monson, Massachusetts.
Gene H. Lee, 1844 Irving St., N.W., Washington 10, D.C.
Lincoln City Library, Lincoln 8, Nebraska.
William A. McDonald, Classics Department, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
Marshall College Library, Huntington 1, W. Virginia.
Memorial University Library, St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada.
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University of Rhode Island Library, Kingston, R.I.
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I. Willis Russell, 1104 Riverside Dr., Tuscaloosa, Florida.
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Washington University Libraries, Skinner and Lindell Blvds., St. Louis 5, [Missouri.
University of Wichita Library, Wichita 14, Kansas.
College of William and Mary Library, Williamsburg, Virginia.
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Michael Woroby, 556 Flora Ave., Winnipeg 4, Manitoba, Canada.
Bertha L. Wright, 71 Madison Ave., Mount Holly, N. J.

The Anatomy of Newfoundland Place-Names

E. R. SEARY

NEWFOUNDLAND PLACE-NAMES have not gone unnoticed in the past, but it is only in the last three years that an attempt has been made to study them systematically, as part of an investigation into Newfoundland linguistics conducted by members of the English Department of the Memorial University of Newfoundland under the direction of the present writer.

Pioneer work was done by the late Archbishop M. F. Howley in a series of articles entitled "Newfoundland Name-Lore," published in *The Newfoundland Quarterly* from 1901 to 1914–15. Unfinished as it is, and sometimes capricious and coloured by local patriotism, Howley brought to it an unsurpassed knowledge of Newfoundland which has placed his successors heavily in his debt. More commonly, Newfoundland place names have received a popular, uncritical treatment, as from H. L. Keenleyside who, writing of what he calls "the delightful and imaginative quality of Newfoundland nomenclature," goes on to say:

> In no other country with which I am acquainted is there so great a variety of unusual place-names. Studying the map of the Island is a constant source of delight, surprise and entertainment. Even when the names are homely, or when, as in some cases, they verge on the repulsive, they are never common and are saved from vulgarity by an imaginative quality that gives them an essential element of propriety. And when, as so often happens, the name embodies an intrinsic beauty of sound or ideology, the result is close to perfection. Where, for example, could one find more perfect names than *Winterland*, *Calence Point*, *Topsail*, *Blue Pinion*, *Maiden Arm*, *Colinet*, *Rolling Cove* or *Lance Amour*?[1]

[1] *Canadian Geographical Journal*, XXIX, 6, December 1944, p. 255.

That Newfoundland place names are worthy of more serious attention becomes apparent when we consider their linguistic bases in English, French, Portuguese, Micmac, Gaelic and perhaps Scandinavian, the circumstances of their imposition, their variety and kinds.

The imposition of place names followed closely on the discovery, exploration and settlement of Newfoundland. Even on the earliest maps, of the first decade of the sixteenth century, names appear which are still significant, though it would often be rash to attempt close identification of an early and present-day location. The early cartographers had but a hazy notion of the configuration of Newfoundland – its many deep bays and inlets led them to believe that it was an archipelago – and only after about a century of map-making did it come to be represented as an island having something of the shape we know, with names beginning to occupy fixed positions. For instance, the *Cabo de boa ventura* on the "Cantino Chart" of 1502 is in the south of Newfoundland, but *Bonauentura* (a cape or an island) on the "Olivieriana" map of 1505–08 is on the East Coast. Even in the latter part of the eighteenth century, knowledge of the West Coast was incomplete and one name especially, Point Riche, was still foot-loose, being found at points as far apart as north of Ingornachoix Bay (where it properly belongs) and Cape Ray.

Since most of the early maps showing Newfoundland are of Portuguese origin, it follows that the nomenclature in them is likely to be largely Portuguese, and we find that even when maps are of, say, Italian or French origin, the names are often taken, in varying degrees of accuracy, from Portuguese prototypes. Also, since the East Coast from Cape Race to Fogo was virtually the only part of Newfoundland known to early explorers, it is along this part of the coast that Portuguese names are chiefly concentrated.

Two names on La Cosa's map of 1500 [1508–10], *Y verde* (cp. Bay de Verde) and *S. luzia* (a name now obsolete in Newfoundland), are a reminder that the Portuguese did not confine their discoveries to the New World. They also occur in the Cape Verde Islands, 300 miles off the west coast of Africa, discovered in 1460. In the Windward Islands of the group, we also find an island Branco (Port. *branco* – white), an old name of a cape in Newfoundland in the Riccardiana Homem map of 1533–4; another island Razo, "the flat

island;" and an island Boa Vista, though the Newfoundland Bonavista probably first occurs in its French form, *Cap de Bonne Viste*, after Cartier. Among the Leeward Islands is a Fogo (Port. *fogo* – fire, flame), the name of an island in "Miller No. 1" of 1516–22.

The "Cantino" Chart of 1502, in addition to *Cabo de boa ventura*, has also one of the names the Portuguese gave to Newfoundland, *Terra del Rey de Portugall.*

Vespucci's map of 1502–06 has the other Portuguese name for Newfoundland, *Terra Cortereal*, the land discovered by Gaspar Corte Real in 1501; and *Capo raso* – the level, low, flat cape, – Cape Race, the first name to be given to and retained by any definite place in Newfoundland.[2]

In the "Kunstmann No. 3" map of 1502–06 is *Ilha de frey luis* – the island of Brother Lewis, surviving today as Cape Freels (the Cape Freels north of Wesleyville).

The "Olivieriana" map of 1505–08 has also a *Cauo de la spera*, now Cape Spear; and a *Riuo de los Bacolaos* (Port. *bacalhao* – cod), a name which survives both in its Portuguese form in Bacalhao I. (west of Change Islands, near Fogo) and in a French adaptation of the Portuguese in Baccalieu I. at the entrance to Conception Bay.

Other names in the first thirty years of Portuguese maps showing Newfoundland are *B. de Comceica* (Port. *conceiçao* – conception) in Pedro Reinel, 1516–20; *R. fremoso*, (from Port. *fermoso* – beautiful), which gives Fermeuse, and *C. de San Francisco*, which gives Cape St. Francis, both in "Miller No. 1" of 1516–22; and *Farilham* (Port. *farelhao* – reef, steep rock, steep little island), which becomes Ferryland, in Verrazano, 1529.

The incidence of French names in Newfoundland is so vast that little can be done here but to show the earlier stages of their imposition and to comment on names of more than usual interest. Although the transatlantic voyages of the Bretons go back to the time of the discovery of America, the first record of French nomenclature is found in the *Remiesè Relation de Jacques Cartier de la Terre-Neuve 1534*, the account of Cartier's expedition along the coast of the Northern Peninsula to the Straits of Belle Isle

[2] Harrisse, *Découverte et Évolution cartographique de Terre-Neuve*, London and Paris, 1900, p. 43.

and along the coast south of Labrador. I have already mentioned *Cap de Bonne Viste. Haure Saincte-Katherine* may be noted because, despite its having apparently been known thus to Cartier, the name has survived in a Spanish or Portuguese form, Catalina. *Hable Karpont*, "named from its resemblance to *Le Kerpont* which occupies an exactly similar position between the island of Bréhat and the French coast to the west of St. Malo,"[3] has come down in the spelling Quirpon (dating from Bowen's map of about 1742), but retains in local pronunciation [kapun] a memory of its old form. The *Brief Récit* of Cartier's second voyage in 1536 contains *Hable Rougnose* (? Fr. *rogneux* – scruffy, mangy, as of rock covered with weed, slime and shells), which, after more than common vicissitudes, has at last settled into Renews.

After 1600, as the French went ever further afield, their influence on Newfoundland nomenclature correspondingly grew. Names in the Northern Peninsula become more numerous. Le Vasseur in 1601 records on the South Coast such typically French-sounding names as *Plaisance*, *Chapeau Rouge*, *Trou à l'asne*, *La Belline*, *B. du S. Esprit*, and on the West Coast *C. raye*, *S. Ioan*, *R. dognon*, *R. double*. In 1612, Champlain, the first hydrographer to explore French possessions in America, marked on the South and Southwest Coasts *C ste marie*, *trépasés*, *Plesence*, *Ille st pierre*, *Port aux basques*, *Baye ste claire* (twice) and *Cap de raye*. By 1790, when Michael Lane published his map showing the results of surveys of the whole coast of Newfoundland (except for the stretch between Cape Bonavista and White Cape), French names are to be found almost everywhere round the island, side by side with English names and of the same variety. Prowse, however, states that "there is not a solitary foreign name in Trinity Bay."[4] Several French names, especially in the south, are of Channel Islands origin.

The first English word to appear as a Newfoundland place name, Penguin, was recorded in a letter from Anthony Parkhurst to Hakluyt of the 13th September 1578, from which *OED* quotes the following passage:

> There are... many other kindes of birdes store, too long to write, especially at one Island named Penguin, where wee

[3] Biggar, *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier*, Ottawa, 1924, p. 10.

[4] *History of Newfoundland*, London and New York, 1895, p. 19 note.

> may driue them on a planke into our ship as many as shall lade her. These birds are also called Penguins, and cannot flie.[5]

"Penguin" appears two years later as *Y. de Penguin*, in a context wholly Portuguese, in Dr. John Dee's map of 1580. Bay of Bulls is the next English place name to occur, in a map of 1592 ascribed to Thomas Hood.

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[5] Since "penguin," according to *OED* is of obscure origin, the following note may not be out of place.

"It appears," states *OED*, "that the name was first given to the Great Auk or Gare-fowl [*Alca impennis*] of the seas of Newfoundland, still called in French *pingouin* or *pinguin* (1600 in Hatzfeld-Darmesteter). But it was soon applied also to the birds now called *penguins* [*Spheniscidae*], in French *manchots* (found by Drake at Magellan's Straits in 1578), which have a general external resemblance to the northern bird, though, in the opinion of zoologists, widely removed in structure..."

A lengthy note on the word concludes with dismissing as "merely unsupported conjectures" such supposed derivations as from Latin *pinguis* – fat, or from "pin-wing" referring to the rudimentary wings; and objects to a Welsh derivation, *pen gwyn* – white head (attributed to the Welsh men who accompanied Drake), on the grounds that the Great Auk did not have a white head (though it had white spots in front of the eyes), and that there are "obvious historical difficulties [*sic*], which some would remove in part by supposing the name to have been originally given by Breton fishermen."

Two aspects of Parkhurst's statement, however, may deserve more attention than they apparently received: (i) it is an "*Island* named Penguin" – not a bird, and (ii) "These birds are *also* called Penguins" – as if the bird were named after the island and not the island after the bird.

What, then, is the significance of *penguin*? It seems to be a compound of two elements that occur in place names in Brittany: *pen* – head, as in *Penmarch* – horse's head (a name, incidentally, found on Detcheverry's map of 1689 as *Pesmarq*, for the Horsechops near Oderin in Placentia Bay), and *guen* – white, as in *Ménéguen* – white mountain. *Penguin* is then "white head," a Breton description of a physical feature.

It remains to be added that Parkhurst's Penguin I., the only place in Newfoundland where the Great Auk nested, was visited by Cartier, a Breton, in May 1534; that Cartier called it simply *Isle des Ouaiseaulx* (Bird I.) and the birds themselves, *Apponatz*; and that to the westward of Escape Point, its eastern extremity, is a steep cliff which, I am told, appears white from the sea. The sequence, name of feature > name of island > name of bird whose nests covered the island, seems not impossible. The present name, Funk I. – stinking island (from the bird droppings), dates, as far as I have been able to ascertain from Cook and Lane's map of 1775.

The argument, of course, needs elaboration and may crumble under scrutiny: I present it for what it is worth – if only an etymological *jeu d'esprit*.

The first map to contain any large number of English names and names adapted or translated from French, is that of 1626 by John Mason, governor of Newfoundland from 1615 to 1621, published in *The Golden Fleece* by Sir William Vaughan. In addition to names familiar from Portuguese maps, such as C. S. Francis, Bay of Conception, Ferriland, and Formose, Mason's map is chiefly notable for names designating contemporary plantations and settlements. North Favlkla'd, Availona, Bristol's Hope; for Vaughan's own Welsh and exotic nomenclature – Cambriola, Glamorgan, Pembroke, Cardigan, Colchos, Rhenus, Breehonia, of which Prowse remarks that "not a vestige of these colonies now remains; all the fantastic names... with the exception of Baltimore's Avalon, have disappeared from the maps;"[6] and for what I believe is the first designation of an inland feature, "A great Lake or Sea unknowne, discouered by Captaine Mason."

Some later seventeenth century maps relieve the tedium of extracting names from them by such readings as "Consumption Bay" for Conception Bay in the chart of John Seller, published in his *English Pilot* 1671, a version which persisted for many years, and "Hole rude" for Holyrood in William Hack's *Description* of about 1690.

English cartography of Newfoundland started late and came into its own only in the latter years of the eighteenth century, but the work of Cook and Lane, in its thoroughness and accuracy, more than compensated for earlier shortcomings and provided the first documentary evidence of many new names.

Champlain's recording of the name Port aux Basques in 1612 may be taken as evidence that the Basques knew, and were known in, Newfoundland by that date. As the great and at first the only hunters after whales and walruses in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, although they also fished for cod, they were numerous after Cartier's discovery of walruses on the Magdalen Islands (1534), and they may have frequented Newfoundland waters as early as 1530.[7] Juan de la Cosa, Columbus's pilot, who drew the first map showing Newfoundland in 1500, was a Basque.

[6] *History of Newfoundland*, p 19.

[7] Rogers, *Historical Geography of Newfoundland*, Oxford, 1911, p. 26. These were French Basques.

Two maps of the latter half of the seventeenth century, both by men from St. Jean de Luz, those of Denis de Rotis 1674 and of Pierre Detcheverry 1689, include a number of names of Basque origin which with the passage of time have undergone a transmogrification into forms which appear to be French but have no significance in French. Three of them may be singled out for comment. The modern Port au Port derives from *Apphorportu* (de Rotis) or *Orphor portu* (Detcheverry). It is accepted that the element *-portu* is "harbour;" but *opor* has been variously rendered as "wooden bowl or vase," giving an interpretation on the lines of "milk-bowl harbour," accounted for by La Roncière because "tant le calme y regnait,"[8] and as "holiday" - not in the sense of "festival" but as a rest from work on account of, for example, bad weather - leading to Lafon's interpretation of "port of rest in time of storm."[9] Port au Choix, from *Portuichoa* (de Rotis) or *Portichoa* (Detcheverry) is "little harbour." Port au Bras, however, which appears to be formed similarly, has apparently neither a Basque origin nor any significance in Basque. It is, of course, in a totally different locality from Port au Port and Port au Choix. Ingornachoix, from *Annguachar* (Detcheverry), appears to contain the Basque *angura* anchor and, perhaps, *-char* – bad. It is not unlikely that some of the seemingly incomprehensible names in old maps may be due to the effects of Basque influence.

I have as yet made no attempt to grapple with the Gaelic and Scandinavian elements in Newfoundland nomenclature.

There remain of other non-English elements in Newfoundland place names, those names from Indian languages which may be of greater antiquity than any of the others; for "the Micmac claim to have had some knowledge of Newfoundland from remote times [and] they speak of a branch of their people... who lived on the southern and western coasts before the eighteenth century, and to corroborate this they give an old nomenclature of landmarks in various parts of the island in Micmac."[10] As far as I know, Micmac names given to places on the coast have never been used by the

[8] "Le premier routier-pilote de Terre-Neuve (1579)" in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, Vol. 64, Paris, 1904, pp. 116–125.

[9] Privately communicated. Lafon is Professor of Basque in the University of Bordeaux.

[10] Speck, *Beothuk and Micmac*, New York, 1922, p. 26.

white population of Newfoundland, but some have survived in the interior. Among them are: *Annieopsquotch* – ? "rocky mountains;" *Meel Paeg* Lake – "many bays" or "crooked," recorded by Cormack in 1822; *Ebbegunbaeg* Lake - "low bay;" *Medonnegonix* Lake – "village half way," above Belle Bay; *Kaegudek* Lake – "on the top," that is, above Medonnegonix Lake. Some of these names are found in Micmac areas on the mainland of Canada.

One allegedly Beothuk name – the only one I have come across – was recorded by Jukes in 1842: Shannoc (or Sheernock) Brook, *Shannoc* being the name by which the Beothuks knew the Micmac.[11] It is now called Noel Paul's Brook, probably after a Micmac guide or hunter.

Names from the Beothuk and Micmac languages, however, by no means mark the whole extent of Indian influence on Newfoundland place names. Such names as Indian Arm, – Bay, – Bight, – Brook, – Burying Place, – Cove, – Island, – Look-Out, – Pond and – Point; Red Indian Lake; Wigwam Brook and Point; Ochre Pit Cove - all seem to point to contacts between Indians and white men, as may Bloody Bay and Rencontre. Though practically all the names are English, there is one notable example of French contact in Salvage [sæl'veidʒ], which recalls Mr. T. S. Eliot's note to *The Dry Salvages*: "The Dry Salvages – presumably *les trois sauvages* – is a small group of rocks, with a beacon, off the N.E. coast of Cape Ann, Massachusetts. *Salvages* is pronounced to rhyme with *assuages*."[12] Among personal names of Indians are Mary March Brook, Mary March being a Beothuk woman captured in 1819 at Red Indian Lake and so named from the month in which she was captured;[13] Joe Jeddores Pond, named in 1905 by Millais after his Indian guide, "the only man who had ever been there;"[14] Benoit's Brook and Cove, probably after a family of French Micmacs who had hunting territories from White Bear River to Round Pond, Bay du Nord;[15] and Matthew Pond, probably after a Micmac chieftain, Matthew Mitchell.[16] As an example of an Indian name being translated into English, we find Cormack recording that Pipestone Lake was "known to the Micmac Indian by the Indian

[11] *Excursions in and about Newfoundland*, London, 1842, Vol. II, p. 238.
[12] *Four Quartets*, London, 1944, p. 25. [13] Speck, *op. cit.*, pp. 49–51.
[14] *Geographical Journal*, London, Vol. XXVIII, 1906, p. 388.
[15] Speck, *op. cit.*, p. 132. [16] Speck, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

name for it, Stone Pipe Lake, from their procuring here verde antique [an ornamental serpentine rock] and other magnesian rocks out of which they carve or chisel tobacco pipes."[17] In contrast to the English Harbours, Portugal Coves, Frenchmans Coves, Spaniards Bay and Port aux Basques, there are, apparently, no place names containing either "Beothuk" or "Micmac." As far as I know, no Indian names were recorded before Cormack in 1822.

The changes that foreign names in Newfoundland have undergone, fall into two broad classes. In the first are those made by the cartographer ignorant of the language of the map which he is using as a prototype, who makes an error in transcription or translation, though the error is usually rectified later. Examples of errors in transcription are such as Harrisse noted in the Sebastian Cabot map of 1544, where the nomenclature is defective on account of bad readings by Cabot who perhaps did not know French, or by the Belgian engraver who did not know Spanish, giving, among others, *Onsemilyogines* for *Onze mille virgines*;[18] or the reading *Fogs* for Fogo on the Jacobsz map of 1621, repeated as *foggs* in Mason's map of 1626. Cartographers have been inveterate plagiarists, and not least of their fellows' mistakes. The most striking howler in translation that I have found, is in Blaise Vion's map of 1699, in which Southwood's (1675) Tickle Harbour is rendered *H[avre] chatouilleux*, though "Tickle" in Newfoundland usage, as defined by *NED*, is the name given to a narrow difficult strait or passage.

The other kind of change tends to arise in common usage from deficiencies of speech, hearing and comprehension on the part of people unaccustomed to foreign names or unwilling to accept them. These changes eventually find their way into written records and receive permanent recognition. Some foreign names in Newfoundland have remained unchanged in spelling and virtually unchanged in pronunciation, as *La Hune* and *La Scie*; but many, perhaps the majority, seem to have undergone some change or other.

Some have retained their original spelling but have received a new pronunciation: *Bréhat* [braha], *Colombier* [kˈaləmbɪə], *Cremaillière* [krɪˈmalɪə]. Some have received an anglicised pronunciation and a new English spelling which approximates to the new

[17] *Narrative of a Journey across... Newfoundland*, ed. F. A. Bruton, London, 1929, p. 52. [18] Harrisse, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

sound: Cape Race, Ferryland, Oderin [o'dɪərɪn] from *Audierne*, Fermeuse. The new word may be significant or not. An example of a foreign name becoming gibberish in local usage is recorded by Anspach who, at a loss to find the meaning of a name that sounded like *Washeltoraw*, at length discovered that it was *La Vache et le Taureau*, the name of a group of rocks near Cape St. Marys, now usually called Bull and Cow Rocks.[19] However, I have no evidence that *Washeltoraw* ever received the distinction of appearing on a map. Sometimes the original and a translation stand side by side to designate the same place, so that *Bay de Loup* is also officially Wolf Bay, or *Boisée I.* is known locally as Woody I. The original may persist in one place and an anglicised form in another, as in *Barachois* and Barrasway or Barrisway. Sometimes the foreign name is unacceptable, so that the official *Bouleaux Bay* is locally known as Sparkes Bight. Some have acquired a foreign form different from the original as with *Catalina* and with the Basque names put into pseudo-French. Some appear to be, say, genuine French, but defeat any attempt to find them in dictionaries, as with *Frauderesse* and *Querre*. Such a name as Mose Ambrose appears to be a near-phonetic rendering of some forgotten name.

Lacourcière[20] has pointed out that places receive names in one of two ways: by deliberate imposition, that is by known persons who impose them with some measure of "authority," and by a process of spontaneous creation or collective usage.

We know the authorship of many Newfoundland place names deliberately imposed from evidence left by the author himself or deduced by historians and biographers.

In Hakluyt, for instance, we read:

> In the yere of our Lord 1497 John Cabot... discovered that land which no man before that time had attempted, on the 24 of June, about five of the clocke early in the morning. This land he called Prima vista, that is to say, First seene, because as I suppose it was that part whereof they had the

[19] *A History of the Island of Newfoundland*, London, 1819, p. 326.

[20] In the analysis that follows, I find that I have followed close on the heels of M. Luc Lacourcière's observations on Canadian place names, published in "Toponymie canadienne" in *Études sur le Parler français au Canada*, Québec, 1955, pp. 199 to 220.

> first sight from the sea. That Island which lieth out before the land, he called the Island of S. John upon this occasion, as I thinke, because it was discovered upon the day of John the Baptist.[21]

In Guy's accounts of his explorations in Newfoundland in 1612, he writes:

> [We] came that nighte to the harbour... which we call Flagstaffe Harbour, because we fownd theare the flagstaffe throwen by the savages away.[22]

Cormack tells us: "I have used the customary privilege of giving names to the lakes and mountains I met with in this hitherto unexplored route, and these are in compliment to distinguished individuals and private friends."[23] During the present century, a number of places have been re-named by the Newfoundland Nomenclature Board and by the Canada Post Office.

Those other names, imposed by collective usage, like the old ballads, defy any attempt at ascribing authorship to particular persons. Like Topsy, who knew no father or mother, they "grow'd" until they were old enough and respectable enough to find a place in society, in the maps which are the *Who's Who* of names that have arrived.

To decide into which of these two classes any name falls is possible only with direct evidence showing deliberate imposition, and from the circumstances of Newfoundland history and settlement such evidence is often lacking.

Of the kinds of names that occur in Newfoundland, it may first be remarked that many place names in Newfoundland are names that also occur elsewhere, particularly in France and England. Such names would seem to have been given for a variety of reasons – a real or fancied resemblance seen in a physical feature, patriotism, nostalgia – who can tell? So we find that Bréhat on the Northern Peninsula, with the Bréhat Shoals offshore, recalls Bréhat

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[21] *The Principal Navigations*, Glasgow, 1903–04, Vol. VII, pp. 145–6.

[22] *The New World. A Catalogue of an Exhibition of Books, Maps, Manuscripts and Documents held at Lambeth Palace Library between 1 May and 1 December 1957.* [London] Lambeth Palace Library, 1957, p. 61.

[23] "Account of a Journey across the Island of Newfoundland" in the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, Vol. X, October–April 1823–24.

and the Bréhat Shoals in Brittany. Cape Race probably recalled to some Portuguese navigator Cabo Raso at the mouth of the Tagus. Flamborough recalls Flamborough Head in Yorkshire. Chapeau Rouge is said to owe its name to the inn, Le Chapeau Rouge, in Bordeaux, where sailors used to forgather to settle their affairs,[24] though the name may be descriptive of the feature. Oderin recalls Audierne in Finisterre; Harbour Grace – Le Havre de Grace; Old and New Ferolle – Ferolle in northern Spain, near Corunna; Melrose – Melrose in Scotland with its associations with Sir Walter Scott; Bordeaux I. – Bordeaux in France or Guernsey.

Even commoner, perhaps, are places named after persons, of which the following varieties may be noted.

There are names of persons associated in some way or other with Newfoundland – governors, explorers, clergy, traders, Micmac guides and hunters.

The governors have given their names generously. In Alexander Murray's *Report of the Geological Survey* for 1866, he informs the governor that Mount Musgrave was "called so in honour of your Excellency's recent visit to this part of the country,"[25] and Musgrave also gave his name to Musgrave Harbour and Musgravetown. Sir John Glover was generous in another way: Glover I. was originally Sir John Hawley Glover I.

Of places named after travellers and explorers, there are two insignificant islands – Jacques Cartier I. and Cabot I., though in 1886, with the concurrence of the Governor-General of Canada, Cabot received an additional honour when the hitherto unnamed strait which separates Cape Breton Island from Newfoundland was styled in the Admiralty Charts, Cabot Strait.[26] There are also Mount Cormack and Lake Cormack, named by Millais in honour of his eminent predecessor; and Millais himself had his lake – one which he discovered in 1902, which, he tells us, Mr. Reid of the Newfoundland Railway "kindly expressed a wish to name after myself."[27]

[24] Harrisse, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxviii, lxi.

[25] *Geological Survey of Newfoundland*, London, 1881, p. 84.

[26] *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, New Monthly Series, Vol. VIII, 1886, p. 101.

[27] "On some new Lakes... of Newfoundland" in *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. XXII, 1903, p. 311.

As for the clergy, the Nomenclature Board renamed one of the several Cuckold Coves after Canon Dunfield; and Bird Island Cove became Elliston after the Rev. William Ellis, a Methodist minister, who, in April 1814, preached the first sermon to its Protestant inhabitants.[28]

Of ordinary inhabitants – John Peyton of Twillingate, a friend of Cormack's, the man who captured Mary March, is remembered in Mount Peyton. Greenspond is said to take its name from the first two settlers, Green and Pond, who, if this is correct, had apparently settled there before 1701 when the name first appeared (as Greenpond) on Moll's map. About 1832, incidentally, morality there was "at such a low ebb that Greenspond was usually nicknamed the 'Sodom of the North'."[29] And Joe Batts Arm – and Brook and Point? One would like to believe that they were named after Joseph Batt, who was sentenced to receive fifteen lashes for stealing a pair of shoes and buckles valued at seven shillings and sixpence, about 1754, at Bonavista.[30]

A smaller class of names – and rightly so – is of people of little or no interest or importance in Newfoundland. Port Saunders, Keppel Harbour and Hawke Bay would seem, for example, to celebrate a trio of English admirals of the eighteenth century of whom, I believe, only Saunders had any association with Newfoundland – as commodore and Commander-in-Chief of the Newfoundland station from February 1752 to ? April 1754. These names were probably given by Cook. Still less fitting were many of the names given by Cormack – Gower's Lake, Emma's Lake, Richardson's Lake and so forth – but most of these are now obsolete, except for King George IV Lake.

Names of religious significance, especially names of saints, go back to the earliest map of La Cosa (1500 [1508–10]). They have been given for various reasons. Hakluyt, it will be remembered, believed that Cabot named the Island of St. John because it was discovered upon the day of St. John the Baptist. Names such as St. Barbe, St. Julien and St. Lunaire recall traditions and places associated with Brittany. More recently such names have been given

[28] Lench, *The Story of Methodism in Bonavista*, St. John's, 1919. p. 142.

[29] Lench, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

[30] Pedley, *The History of Newfoundland*, London, 1863, pp. 86–88. On p. 88, Pedley calls Batt "John Batt" but twice previously had called him "Joseph."

sometimes arbitrarily and injudiciously, as Archbishop Howley observed about St. Joseph's - a name given by Fr. Morris because he did not like the old name of Gallows Harbour, with the result that Newfoundland had then three St. Joseph's, a source of further confusion to a Post Office already embarrassed with repeated names.[31]

Most of the names which appear to recall an incident are not as well authenticated as Bishops Falls, which Jukes records in 1842 as "so named from the present bishop of Nova Scotia having visited the place;"[32] though it is not impossible to hazard a guess at the kind of circumstance which might lead to a place being called Bloody Bay or Cinq Cerf Bay or Mistaken Point or Canaille Cove. There is evidence for the imposition of some of these names: Eclipse I. is the island from which Cook observed an eclipse of the sun on the 5th August 1765; Mount Misery was the place where Cormack spent an unpleasant night on the 16–17th October 1822, when storm-bound.[33]

Occupations provide a number of names: Admirals and Petit-maitre recall the practice of the fishing fleets in having the first captain to arrive in a harbour at the beginning of the season as a controller of affairs for the season. Tilt, Anchor, Freshwater, Boat, Bateau, La Hune, Schooner are all words associated with fishing and seamanship.

Animal names, fish, flesh and fowl, both English and French, are very common, ranging from Cape Anguille to White Bear Bay, and from Mosquito to Camel I. Vegetation gives Birch, Gooseberry, Hay, Mint, Onion, Indian Tea. Minerals – Chalk, Ochre, Sand, Serpentine, Shingle.

Size is indicated by Great, Big, Little, Long, Petty. Colour by Verte, Blue, Brunette, Green, Grey, Muddy, Red, Noir, Rouge, White, Black. Shape by Bell, Clapper, Flat, Square, Platte, Table, Narrow, Topsail, Sugarloaf, Butterpot. Position by any number of Northeast, Northwest Arms etc.

Names indicating phenomena are varied: Aquaforte, Rattling (i.e. with many rapids), Pigeonnière, Columbier, Fogo, Éboulement, Ragged, Rocky, Split, Funk (stinking).

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[31] Howley, *op. cit.*, Article XXXII. [32] *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 134.

[33] *Narrative of a Journey across... Newfoundland*, p. 63.

Finally there are the metaphorical names: Breakheart, Blow-me-down, Come-by-Chance, Heart's Content, Heart's Desire, Heart's Delight, as well as others which would correct any impression that Newfoundland has been named by young ladies.

There are, of course, several more observations that could be made on Newfoundland place names – on obsolete names, on the repetition of names, on Newfoundland topographical terminology in general, to name but three – but the foregoing sketch should serve to show that if, according to Rostaing, toponymy is "l'objet d'études passionées, sinon sérieuses,"[34] then Newfoundland toponymy is particularly deserving of much more detailed study than it has yet received[35].

[34] *Les Noms de Lieux*, Paris 1954, p. 6.

[35] This paper was presented in November 1957 as an address to the St. John's Branch of the Humanities Association of Canada.

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Early Greek Attitudes toward Environment As Indicated in the Place-Names[1]

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National characteristics reveal themselves in a wide variety of obvious as well as subtle ways. One such factor is the names by which a people designates its towns and rivers, its mountains and islands and districts. We are accustomed to think of the ancient Greeks as a curious, inventive and perceptive people; and we therefore take it for granted that their place-names would reflect these qualities. Yet an eminent authority in the field of toponymy recently challenged this assumption rather persuasively.

Professor George R. Stewart, in his 1957 presidential address[2] before the American Name Society, imputes to the Greeks a lack

[1] This is a revised draft of a paper read at the December 1957 meetings of the American Philological Association. The chief differences are: (1) all evidence drawn from the newly-deciphered "Mycenean" clay tablets has been eliminated or relegated to footnotes 6 and 17; and (2) somewhat fuller statistics and examples for the "archaic" names have been added. The reason for change (1) is that the present status of Mycenean epigraphy is extremely fluid. There is not even agreement yet as to the correctness of the identifications of many of the so-called place-names, let alone their proper transcription. It is therefore wiser to withold from print even tentative conclusions in a context as general as ours.

[2] "And Adam Gave Names – A Consideration of Name-Lore in Antiquity," *Names* VI (1958) 1–10. This paper should not be construed as a critique of Professor Stewart's interesting general comparisons between Greek and Hebrew attitudes. I have made no attempt to study the Jewish material. Nor have I yet worked over in any detail the whole volume of Greek evidence. What I have attempted is to see whether Professor Stewart's inferences, drawn mainly from relatively late literary sources, are applicable to the earliest Greek place-names. And, to anticipate the argument, it appears that the conventional sources do not yield a fair picture for the early period, either in terms of "practice" or of "imagination" (to use Professor Stewart's terms, *loc. cit.* p. 10). Although one can detect seeds of the later method and attitude in an author as early as Hesiod, it was probably in the Alexandrian period that the great impetus occurred in the directions characterized by Professor Stewart.

of variety and creativity in giving names, as well as a dearth of curiosity about the origin and true explanation of names already in use. He finds the Greek place-names distinctly inferior to the Hebrew as reflections of the physical environment and of a sense of history. One is justified, according to Professor Stewart, in the generalization that the characteristic Greek approach to place-names was "to assume that a place had, in some way, always had a name, that it had borne two or more names, and that these names were from persons, and most frequently from an incident involving those persons."

There can be no doubt that the more obvious sources tend to confirm Dr. Stewart's thesis. The faults he enumerates are clear enough in the only surviving Greek treatise on toponymy. In the treatise "Concerning the Naming of Rivers and Mountains," nearly every river-name is derived from a human or hero who in madness or shame drowned himself in its waters; and a mountain regularly assumes the name of someone who killed himself or was killed on its leafy slopes.[3] Explanations which might at least seem imaginative and romantic if sparingly used become dulled through constant repetition, not to mention their obvious fictitiousness.

We may as well admit also that other late writers like Pausanias and Apollodorus apply much the same kind of mythological strait-jacket to place-names. But the case in general is not so extreme. By and large, the Greeks seem to have been genuinely curious about names and they did not uncritically accept silly or unlikely explanations.[4] Yet it is true that in the millenium or so from Aeschylus to Stephanus Byzantius dependable information on the real origin of names diminished while stereotypes involving reckless etymologizing and allegorizing increased.

But to test Professor Stewart's verdict with any rigor we must find a method superior to the "hunt-and-peck" variety. I have made

[3] The full title, Περὶ Ποταμῶν καὶ Ὀρῶν Ἐπωνυμίας is sometimes shortened to *De Fluviis*. This document is included in the mss. of Plutarch's *Moralia* (cf. *Plutarchi Chaeronensis Moralia* vol. VII, ed. G. N. Bernardakis, Leipzig [Teubner] 1896). It was certainly not written by Plutarch, although that writer is capable of perpetrating similar inanities in his genuine works. Another feature of the essay, exhibiting comparable etymological nonsense, is the ascription of magical properties to plants and stones.

[4] Cf. *Etymologizing in Greek Literature from Homer to Philo Judaeus* by W. D. Woodhead (Univ. of Toronto Press, 1928).

a start by reviewing all of the place-names which are proved to have been in use before *ca.* 600 B.C. because of their occurrence in documents written in Greek.[5] Before outlining the tentative results of this study, however, let me cite a few general references from this early literature.

King Alcinous says in the *Odyssey* (8.552–4) that no human is nameless, since parents assign a name to every child. But it does not follow that the Greeks naively assumed that *places* are similarly named by god or nature before human habitation. True, we do run across such statements as this one from the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*: "For not yet did any mortal dwell in sacred Thebes. Nor were there yet roads or paths along the wheat-bearing plain of Thebes. All was forest." (*ll.*226–8) But surely the poet no more assumes that the name "Thebes" existed before it was bestowed by man than he imagines that wheat fields covered the plain before there were humans to plough and sow.

Although Hesiod was firmly in the mythopoeic tradition, he seems to be aware of the direct connection between humans and their place-names. After citing a long list of river names, he adds, "It would be difficult to tell the names of all the other rivers, the sons of Ocean, but each individual who dwells around knows them." (*Theogony*, 367–370).

The early Greeks also realized that names may aptly describe the bearer in straight-forward human terms. Homer refers to a group of small islands in the Ionian Sea as Echinae (ἐχῖναι – "hedge-hog" [islands]) in the *Iliad* (2.625) and as Thoai (θοαί – "pointed," "sharp") in the *Odyssey* (15.299). And in the *Hymn to Apollo* (ll.64–5) the personified island of Delos welcomes the opportunity to win honor by sheltering Leto, because her name, clearly connected by the poet with the root *dēl* (δηλ – "harm," "damage") has been responsible for her bad reputation among men.

[5]) Sources are: Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the earlier *Homeric Hymns* (those to Apollo, Demeter, Aphrodite), Hesiod's *Theogony*, and the earlier elegiac and lyric poets, notably Archilochus, Tyrtaeus, Mimnermus and Alcman. I have accepted the readings of editors of standard texts, although there are many cases of variants, emendations and possible interpolations in connection with the place-names. We must rely entirely on literary sources. Evidence from inscriptions (other than the Mycenean tablets) before this time is negligible. And while hundreds of place-names from before 600 B.C. certainly survive in later documents, I know of no way to isolate them with confidence.

In the latter reference we have a good example of the animistic concept which identifies a place with its indwelling "spirit." Thus, in the *Hymn to Apollo*, there is no hint of incongruity when Leto strikes a bargain with Delos or when Apollo threatens and argues with Telphusa (a Boeotian spring). We are here in the same context as the Homeric battle or love affair with a river. But such identification is a far cry from Pseudo-Plutarch's brittle connection of a river name with that of a human or hero who drowned in its waters. In the genuine context, one can hardley say wether the name originally designatet the place orits "genius". In the later accounts, however, conscious aetiological intent can be proved in many cases.

There are very few examples in the early literature where the process of naming places after humans or heroes or gods is explicitly assumed. In the *Iliad* (20.215) we read: "Zeus the cloud-gatherer begat Dardanus, and Dardanus founded Dardania, for not yet was holy Ilios built upon the plain." But one can also point in the *Iliad* (4.474) to an instance of the reverse transfer, i.e. a personal name derived from a place-name. Homer tells of a young man whose mother gave birth to him "beside the banks of the [river] Simöeis; therefore they called him Simöeisios."

Finally, we should mention the puzzling doublets, e.g. the "deep-eddying river which the gods call Xanthus, but men Scamandrus" (*Iliad* 20.74). It is possible that this is evidence for one eponym ousting another. Professor Stewart emphasizes this phenomenon in the Greek consciousness, but there seems to be no more specific reference to it in the early literature. The Greeks certainly adopted many previously existing place-names, but we will see that they also replaced many others with names meaningful in their own language. For a while both would be in use. But, if this is the process reflected in the doublets, it is far from clear whether the man-made name is replacing the god-qiven, or vice-versa.

We may perhaps infer from such hints in the literature that, although it is true that existing place-names were largely taken for granted, the *early* Greeks were not guilty of the rigid and unrealistic pattern in naming which Professor Stewart deplores in Pseudo-Plutarch's pages.

Let us turn now to the names themselves. The label "archaic" is used to designate places referred to before *ca.* 600 B.C., i.e., written down in the 8th and 7th centuries. My total is 404 different names.[6] This is, of course, a microscopic percentage of the names that were actually in use, but it is a dependable and manageable sample. Yet certain reservations must be made before any conclusions can be based on this material.

For instance, how many of our total should be included under the rather vague rubric of "pre-Greek" or "Aegean"? This is an important distinction in terms of semantic analysis because, with few exceptions, the meaning of pre-Greek words so far escapes us. Back in 1928 Professor J. B. Haley published a list of 210 place-names which he believed are either entirely pre-Greek or contain pre-Greek elements.[7] A cross-check indicates that about 25% of our names recur in Haley's list.[8] We might expect, then, that about

[6] My own present total of place-names (most of them simply syllabic transcriptions as yet) in the Mycenean tablets from Pylos and Knossos is 326. Some contrasts between the Mycenean and archaic names may already be in order. The Mycenean names are largely if not entirely localized in Crete and s.w. Peloponnese, whereas the archaic names are scattered from the Asia Minor coast through the Aegean and Ionian islands and the whole of continental Greece, with notable concentration in east central Greece. All of the Mycenean examples are names of towns (or possibly of administrative districts in some cases); while the archaic list includes a relatively large number of bodies of water (60 – mostly rivers), islands (47), mountains (43) and districts (22). At least one-third of the Mycenean names can already be equated with place-names known from later literary and epigraphical sources (though not necessarily in the same area). Approximately one-sixth of the Mycenean names recur in our archaic group.

[7] Haley J. B. and Blegen C. W., "The Coming of the Greeks," *AJA* 32 (1928) 141–154. Haley equated names "occurring in Asia Minor" with "pre-Greek." This was a natural assumption when it was confidently believed that the neolithic and early bronze inhabitants of Greece came from Asia Minor, and that the middle bronze invaders (presumably Greek-speaking) entered the peninsula from the north. Recent evidence, however, points to the latter having reached central Greece across the Aegean from northern Asia Minor, and to the early bronze people's having reached both Asia Minor and Greece from north of the Aegean (cf. Hencken H., "Indo-European Languages and Archaeology," *American Anthropological Association*, Memoir no. 84 (1955) 34–37; and especially Mellaart J., "The End of the Early Bronze Age in Anatolia and the Aegean," *AJA*, 62 (1958) 9–33.

[8] Another calculation tends to bear out this proportion. It shows that, out of about half of the archaic names carefully checked, 23% are applied to places in Asia Minor.

3 out of 4 items in our basic list of 404 are Greek, and so are - theoretically – subject to semantic analysis.[9]

We are left with a group of about 300 names. But there is a further limitation. If a supposedly Greek word has no known etymology it is not of much use for our immediate purpose. A moderately intensive check of plausible etymologies yields a total of 169, which is about 42 % of the total sample.[10] I have divided these 169 place-names into six main categories: flora (A); fauna (B); physical description (C); euphemisms (D); historical referents (E); personal names (F). Roughly 15 % fall in Category A, i.e., they refer to trees, plants, crops, and so on.[11] Nine percent belong in category B, being named for animals, birds, and reptiles.[12] Then comes a

[9] This paper is concerned with etymology alone. These early names also must be treated from the complementary and equally important aspect of morphological analysis. A preliminary check of such features as gender, number, and types of compounds indicates the importance of isolating such evidence for the early period.

[10] I have not invariably followed the established authorities who, in fact, are sometimes far from a consensus on individual items. The following works, however, have been of particular help: Boisacq E., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la Langue grecque* (Heidelberg 1938); Curtius E., *Beiträge zur griechischen Onomatologie* (Göttingen 1861); Curtius G., *Grundzüge der griechischen Etymologie* (Leipzig 1873); Eijkman J. C. B., *Bijdrage tot de Kennis der grieksche Toponymie* (Amsterdam 1929); Grasberger L., *Studien zu den griechischen Ortsnamen* (Würzburg 1888); Pape W. and Benseler G. E., *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* (Braunschweig 1863–70).

[11] In the examples of category A cited here, and in the following footnotes, I have tried to select items which illustrate the criteria for assignment to a particular group, rather than those exhibiting the most certain etymologies. I am quite aware, however, that some of the examples may raise doubts on one or both counts. An asterisk indicates that the root from which the particular derivation is assumed does not occur in extant Greek literature before 600 B.C. Ἄνθεια – *Antheia* – (cf. ἄνθος – *anthos* –, "flower"); Ἐρινεός – *Erineos* – ("wild fig"); Θρυόεσσα – *Thryoessa* – (cf. θρύον – *thryon* –, "reed," "rush"); Ἴδη – *Ida* – (ἴδη* – *idē* –, "timber tree"); Ἴτων – *Itōn* – (cf. ἰτέα – *itea* –, "willow"); Μηκώνη – *Mēkonē* – (cf. μήκων – *mēkōn* –, "poppy"); Μυρσίνη – *Myrsinē* (= μυρρίνη – *myrrinē* –, "myrtle"); Νυσήιος – *Nysēios* – (νῦσα – *nysa* – = κισσός* – *kissos* –, "ivy"); Πιτύα – *Pitya* – (cf. πίτυς – *pitys* –, "pine"); Πτελεόν – *Pteleon* – (cf. πτελέα – *ptelea* –, "elm"); Πύρασος – *Pyrasos* – (cf. πυρός – *pyros* –, "wheat").

[12] Αἰγαί – *Aigai* – (cf. αἰγ-ός – *aig-os* –, "goat"); Ἄρνη – *Arnē* – (cf. ἄρνον – *arnon* –, "lamb"); Βοάγριος – *Boägrios* – (cf. βο-ός – *bo-os* –, "cattle;" ἄγριος – *agrios* –, "wild"); Κήρινθος – *Kērinthos* – (cf. κηρός – *kēros* –, "bees-wax"); Κόρακος πέτρη – *Korakos petra* – ("Crow's stone"); Ὀρνεαί – *Orneai* – (cf. ὄρνις – *ornis* –, "bird"); Ὀρτυγία – *Ortygia* – ("quail"); Ῥηνεία – *Rhēneia* – (cf. ῥήν* – *rhēn* –, "sheep"); Φωκαία – *Phōkaia* – (cf. φώκη – *phōkē* –, "seal").

whopping 50 % in category C, signifying some noticeable physical feature such as shape, color, topography, situation, water supply.[13] It could be argued that categories A and B might be subsumed in C, in which case about 75 % of the total can be accounted for in terms of physical description. Category D, 10 % of the total, includes names which are not necessarily a realistic description but are calculated to enhance the attractiveness of a site.[14]

With categories E and F, we come for the first time to names directly relating a certain place with incidents in human history and legend or with divine intervention in human affairs. The first of these groups (E) has about 7 % of the total. These names seem to commemorate an event or situation which in the broadest sense may be termed "historical."[15] The second group (F) is made up of

[13] Αἶπεια – *Aipeia* – (cf. αἰπύς – *aipys* –, "steep"); , Ἀλφεῖος – *Alpheios* – (cf. ἀλφός – *alphos* –, "dull-white [leprosy]"); Ἄντρων – *Antrōn* – (cf. ἄντρον – *antron* –, "cave"); Ἀραιθυρέα – *Araithyrea* – (cf. ἀραιός – *araios* –, "narrow;" θύρα – *thyra* –, "entrance"); Βῆσσα – *Bēssa* – ("wooded glen"); Βρυσειαί – *Bryseiai* – (cf. βρύω – *bryō* –, "swell," "be full;" cf. mod. Gk. βρύσι – *vrysi* –, "spring [of water]"); Δουλίχιος – *Doulichios* – (δουλιχός – *doulichos* – = δολιχός – *dolichos* –, "long"); Ἑλίκη – *Helikē* – (ἕλιξ – *helix* –, "twisting," "winding"); Ἑπτάπορος – *Heptaporos* – (cf. ἑπτά – *hepta* –, "seven;" πόρος – *poros* –, "ford," "[river] crossing"); Ἐρύθεια – *Erytheia* – (cf. ἐρυθαίνω* – *erythainō* – and ἐρυθραίνω* – *erythrainō* –; ἐρυθρός – *erythros* –, "red"); Εὔριπος – *Euripos* – (cf. εὖ – *eu* –, "good" and ῥιπή – *rhipē* –, "force," "thrust"); Κρανάη – *Kranaē* – (cf. κραναός – *kranaos* –, "rocky," "rugged"); Κρουνοί – *Krounoi* – (cf. κρουνός – *krounos* –, "spring [of water]"); Λάας – *Laas* – ("stone"); Ὄρθη – *Orthē* – (ὀρθός – *orthos* –, "straight"); Πελλήνη – *Pellēnē* – (cf. πελλός* – *pellos* –, "dusky," "grey"); Πέντε Λόφοι – *Pente Lophoi* – ("five hills").

[14] Ἀσίνη – *Asinē* – (cf. ἀ- [negative prefix] and σίνομαι – *sinomai* –, "hurt" "harm"); Αὐγειαί – *Augeiai* – (cf. αὐγή – *augē* –, "sunlight"); Γονόεσσα – *Gonoessa* – (cf. γονόεις* – *gonoeis* –, "fertile"); Θαυμακίη – *Thaumakiē* – (cf. θαυμάζω – *thaumazō* –, "admire"); Καλλίχορος – *Kallichoros* – (cf. καλός – *kalos* –, "beautiful", and χορός – *choros* –, "dance," "dancing place"); Καλλικολώνη – *Kallikolōnē* – (cf. καλός – *kalos* –, "beautiful" and κολώνη – *kolōnē* –, "[burial] mound"); Κλεωναί – *Kleōnai* – (cf. κλέος – *kleos* –, "renown;" κλεινός – *kleinos* –, "famous"); Λίλαια – *Lilaia* – (cf. λιλαίομαι – *lilaiomai* –, "desire").

[15] Αὖλις – *Aulis* – ("tent," "place for passing the night"); Ἐνίσπη – *Enispē* – (cf. ἐνέπω – *enepō* –, "tell," "relate"); Θεράπνη – *Therapnē* – ("handmaid"); Θέσπεια – *Thespeia* – (cf. θέσπις – *thespis* –, "divinely inspired"); Ἰρή – *Ira* – ἴρη – *ira* – and εἶρη – *eira* – = ἀγορά – *agora* –, "gathering place"); Ἵππου Κρηνή – *Hippou Krēnē* – ("Spring of the Horse [Pegasus]"); Μεδεών – *Medeōn* – (cf. μεδέων – *medeōn* –, "ruler," "guardian"); Ὄσσα – *Ossa* – ("rumor," "voice [of divine origin]").

places which were clearly named for gods, demi-gods, heroes or humans. It will interest Professor Stewart to learn that only 7% of our total fits here.[16]

Perhaps a more thorough analysis will show the 7% to be somewhat too low. But another calculation indicates that our very modest figure points in the right direction. A careful check on about half of the archaic names establishes the fact that only $^1/_3$ can be connected with *any* personal names of *any* period. And many of the connections admitted in the count were of the most dubious kind, including a good many cases where the personal names are pretty clearly derived from the place-names, rather than vice-versa.[17]

To sum up, early Greek place-names mirror most of the varied naming patterns which Professor Stewart in his book *Names on the Land* so ably describes for the early American scene. It is clear that the physical environment was uppermost in the Hellenic mind too, as earlier settlers cast about for suitable toponyms.[18] They utilized words denoting interesting land configurations and striking natural features of their new site. They sometimes emphasized its fertile soil or abundant water supply or other desirable features. Nor did the Greeks entirely neglect actual historical events and legends connected with famous personalities, although a name given for

[16] Ἀθῆναι – *Athēnai* – (cf. Ἀθήνη – *Athēnē* –); Αἰπύτιος τύμβος – *Aipytios tymbos* – ("grave of Aipytos"); Ἀλισίου κολώνη – *Alisiou kolōnē* – ("burial mound of Alisios"); Ἀλόπη – *Alopē* – (wife of Hippothöos and beloved of Poseidon); Γυγαίη – *Gygaiē* – (cf. Γυγής – *Gygēs* –); Δίη – *Dia* – (cf. Ζεῦς – *Zeus* –, Διός – *Di-os* –); Ἱστιαῖα – *Histiaia* – (cf. Ἑστία – *Hestia* –); Παρθένιος ποταμός – *Parthenios potamos* – ("river of the Maiden" [i.e. Persephone]); Ῥάριον πεδίον – *Rharion pedion* – ("plain of Rharius").

[17] It appears that, although the dependable material is as yet severely limited in quantity, much the same inductions apply to the Mycenean names alone. For instance, of the names which are analyzable semantically and which do not recur in the archaic list, just over 50% belong in the category of physical description. Our criteria for the archaic names should therefore be helpful as new Mycenean place-name equations are worked out. But it can be predicted that the results of the morphological analysis of the archaic names will be even more important in their bearing on the reconstruction and better understanding of the Mycenean names.

[18] The frequent descriptive epithets which came to be attached to the place-names strengthen one's impression of realism and awareness of natural surroundings. Adequate treatment of the epithets from this point of view would, however, require a separate paper.

some other reason was more likely to acquire historical significance at a later date.

Finally, the early Greeks certainly did not invariably, or even usually, name their places for gods or heroes; and above all they did not use the names of mere humans. If we are skeptical on this point, we need only enumerate the names of a score of outstanding Greek leaders (historical or legendary) and then ask ourselves if we know place-names commemorating them. We will soon realize that such instances are few indeed before Hellenistic times. It is possible that we have here an instinct approximating a taboo.[19] If so, it had certainly spent its force by the early Christian centuries. For it would appear that during the Roman occupation one of the favorite occupations of certain scholars was the invention of persons in order to explain the origin of place-names which were already hoary with age a thousand years before[20].

[19] Cf. Beeler, M. S., "On Etymologizing Indian Names," *Names* V (1957) 239.

[20] I wish to express thanks to various colleagues – Prof. D. C. Swanson, U. of Minnesota, for unstinting and sound advice on many linguistic points; Prof. Demetrius Georgacas, U. of N. Dakota, for encouragement in daring to trespass on "toponymical" ground; and Prof. Stewart for the stimulating paper and subsequent personal discussion which motivated the above paragraphs.

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The New Mexico Place-Name Dictionary: A Polyglot in Six Languages

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To a linguist undertaking a place name dictionary, the road seemed clear and relatively straight. A name is a name, as "a rose is a rose," or so it seemed to me, and although I knew collecting would be arduous, still there did not seem to be much ahead that was needlessly complicated or likely to perplex. I was naive. In the area I was to work, the name structure is like geology with stratification of early language deposits underlying later ones and with individual structures emerging as a result of linguistic erosion, folds and faults, plus the irregularities caused by time and cultural evolution. Many of the name districts in the United States have a mixture of language stocks similar to those in New Mexico, but not many have so large a group of aboriginal language forms and few have a time cycle that is so long. Complicated though these problems were (and still are), they were never lacking in interest, and the solution was always a challenge.

The matter of transfer or translingualization from one language to another was a problem for a phonologist in primitive as well as historical linguistics. Therefore, as the title of my paper indicates, *The New Mexico Place Name Dictionary* is a polyglot drawn from six languages. Of the aboriginal Indian tongues, dating in North America from perhaps the 5th century A.D. to the first European contacts in 1536 (when Cabeza de Vaca became the first non-Indian to leave a record about the Southwest), there were four which had contributed to both the field names and the settlement names. These were and still are:

Tanoan, with three sub-groups:

Tiwa (Taos, Picurís, Sandia, Isleta pueblos);

Tewa (San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso und Pojoaque – now defunct, Nambé, Tesuque, Hano – in what is today the Hopi reservation);

Towa (Jemez pueblo, Pecos — now defunct);
Keresan (Cochití, Santa Domigo, San Felipe, Santa Ana, Zia, Laguna, Acoma);
Zuñi (Zuñi Pueblo only);
Athapascan or Apache groups of New Mexico and Arizona, including the Navaho.

Although some of these languages never were spoken by more than a few hundred people, they represent some of the oldest speech records in North America, and the total group of Indian speakers matched the Europeans in New Mexico until the beginning of the nineteenth century. I feel sure that if all the Indian place names were recorded, they would constitute a large group in the area, but most of them are lost. Only those which appear in the Spanish chronicles and those which have been adopted in later English writings remain to us. As it is, I estimate that fewer than 10 per cent of the names in *The New Mexico Place Name Dictionary* will be from Indian sources.

Spanish is the fifth language matrix in which Southwestern place names are published. The Spanish chronicles date from the *Naufragios y Comentarios*, 1536, of Cabeza de Vaca to the last reports of the Republic of Mexico in 1848. They carry the names of settlements and of descriptive geographical features in both standard Spanish and regional Spanish, that is, Mexican and New Mexican Spanish. By my estimates, about 45 per cent of the New Mexican place names are Spanish. After the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, English became the national language of New Mexico, and with increased movement of population from Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas and the states farther east, especially into eastern and central New Mexico, English names began to appear on the maps. After 1879, the railroad shipping points crisscrossed the state with names of a cosmopolitan type. This last layer of place names which, whatever their etymology, we shall call English, constitutes about 45 per cent of the total number of place names. To summarize: the four Indian languages contribute from 5 to 10 per cent of our present familiar place names; Spanish and English divide almost equally the other 90 per cent. The commingling of these languages is the story of the present paper.

To illustrate this commingling: a little settlement six miles north of Santa Fe is called Tesuque and is named for an Indian pueblo

which in Tewa was *tat unge onwi*, "spotted dry place" or "place where the water comes through." The river here disappears in sandy soil and comes through the ground again in various places, which explains the descriptive elements in the name. The Spaniards translingualized this into *Tesuque* and, in time, the Indians moved away, leaving the pueblo in ruins. After the Spanish name had become known to Indians of the same linguistic group in neighboring pueblos, they replaced the old name with the new Tewa words which were closer in sound to the Spanish name, *i.e.*, *tay tsoon ghay*. "cottonwood tree place." Thus, what was originally "spotted dry place" to the Indians, is now "cottonwood tree place," because the Spanish pronunciation of the original Indian name became the basis for a second Indian place name which was really a folk etymology. Here was a commingling of Indian and Spanish. Then there are instances in which an Indian locality may today bear a name conferred upon it by another Indian community. Such is the case of Pecos Pueblo, a large Towa settlement located between the later Spanish towns of Santa Fe and Las Vegas. The word "pecos" also names the second largest river in the region, which heads in the Sangre de Cristo Mountains of northern New Mexico and runs to the Mexican border in Texas, joining the Rio Grande at the Big Bend. "Law west of the Pecos" is a familiar idiom in western American English. The name has been ascribed both to Latin *pecus*, "cattle," and to an unidentified Indian word meaning "crooked," since the stream meanders a twisting route along the edge of the Llano Estacado or Staked Plain. But the best linguistic evidence is that it is derived from a Keresan Indian form *pa yoko na*, "place where there is water." These words are found in the recorded speech of Jemez Pueblo, where in August of 1838 the inhabitants of Pecos fled after an epidemic of disease and an attack by the Comanches. Thus, we have no name derived from the community itself, only a name applied to it by the people in a neighboring pueblo. Of course, some of these people were refugees from Pecos, and they may have carried the name with them. Furthermore, Pecos and Jemez pueblos belong to the same linguistic stock.

A curious name, the etymology of which is in dispute, illustrates further the possible intermingling of Spanish with Indian. It is the name "Canadian" as used for the Canadian River. When Frederick Webb Hodge prepared his *Handbook of American Indians North of*

Mexico (1907), he gave the Caddo Indian word *kanohatino*, "red river," as the name source for the Red River of Louisiana and the Colorado River in south central Texas, *colorado* being Spanish for "red." The Red River of Louisiana, of course, forms the southern boundary line of Oklahoma and extends west through the Panhandle of Texas to the New Mexico state line. North of it is the Canadian River, also called the Red River or the Canadian Red River, which starts in northern New Mexico and flows through Colfax County to form the Mora-Harding county separation, then turns east through San Miguel and Quay counties until it goes across Texas into Oklahoma, where it is known for awhile as the Beaver River. Finally, as the North Canadian River it joins the Arkansas. "Canadian," then, as a place name could be derived from this Caddo word for red. However, in *The Masterkey*, XXIII (May, 1949), p. 91, Dr. Hodge printed a quotation from the journal of Lt. J. W. Abert (29th Congress, 1st Sess., Senate, Washington, 1846, p. 23), describing an excursion to the river and the great cañon through which it flows, and he thus seemed to favor the derivation of the name from Sp. cañada, "ravine," and the original name as *cañadian*. But *Mapa de los Estados Unidos* (1828) shows the stream as *Canadiano Rio*, without the *ñ*, which would favor a Spanish adaptation of the Indian *kanohatino*, "red river." It is the red salt which washes down in time of floods to color the water that is responsible for the descriptive name. Spanish land titles call it the *Rio Rojo*, "red river," as well as the *Rio Canadiano*. In the upper reaches it is today called the Little Red River.

No satisfactory explanation has ever been given for the generic term "Navajo" or "Navaho." The Navajos in their Athapascan tongue call themselves *Diné*, "the people." Where did the Spanish find a name for the Navajos which was not from the Athapascan tongue? There is an arroyo in Santa Fe County called by the Tewa name *na va hu u*, "arroyo of cultivated fields," or "place of planted fields." It has been suggested that this Tewa word may have been used by the Pueblo Indians to describe the *Diné* people to the Spanish, since there are many such cultivated areas in arroyos where the Navajos live.[1] Washington Matthews in *Navaho Legends*,

[1] E. L. Hewett, *American Anthropologist*, n.s. 8:193 (January-March, 1906). Reprinted and discussed in *The Benavides Memorial of 1634*, eds., Hodge, Hammond, Rey (Albuquerque, 1945), pp. 307–308.

page 211, note 1, writes "The name is generally supposed to be derived from [Sp.] *navaja*, which means a clasp-knife or razor and to have been applied because the Navaho warriors carried great stone knives in former days." He also suggests Spanish *navajo* [*lavajo*], "pool or small lake," as a source, but Fray Alonso Benavides in his *Memorial to the King of Spain*, written in 1630, says that the Navajos were great farmers and that the word *Navajo* signified "great planted fields." Since the Spanish lived in close terms with the Pueblos, it seems likely they borrowed the Pueblo word for their Indian neighbors.

It is with the Spanish-English mingling that this onomatologist feels the least inadequate. He is familiar with the word processes which occur in both English and Spanish and has a speaking acquaintance with the vocabulary and name resources of each tongue. Still, surprises were not lacking in our *Dictionary* as we worked with these more familiar tongues. At least nine counties in the state of New Mexico have Spanish place names meaning "marshy place" or "little marsh." The toponym is *cienaga*, "marsh," or *cienaguilla*, using the diminutive form; also *cienaguita*, another diminutive. When the early freighters came over the Santa Fe Trail in the mid-nineteenth century, they arrived at a settlement in northeastern New Mexico called *Cienaguilla del Burro*, which may be translated colloquially as "Jackass Swamp." When homesteaders moved in after the Civil War, the name *Cienaga* became Anglicized as "Seneca," possibly with an element of identification and commemoration for all the "Senecas" in such states as New York, Ohio, Illinois and Kansas. Thus, without some historical knowledge, as well as linguistic perspective, the name today might be considered a commemorative of the Roman statesman, essayist, and playwright, Lucius Annaeus Seneca (4 B.C. ?–64 A.D.). There is the chance that the English never heard of the Spanish name, but probabilities favor the Spanish origin as it was given a local English pronunciation as "sinagie" or "senagie."

Perhaps the most amazing of these linguistic transformations has occurred with a place name known variously as *Sugarite*, *Chico Rico*, and *Chicorica*. In Colfax County, New Mexico, northeast of the city of Raton, is a high mesa called Sugarite Mesa. Nearby is a creek with the same name and in Raton there is a Sugarite Street. The word sounds like a vein of metal in an ore deposit, but "sugar"

doesn't have any connection with ore, and so one stares at a meaningless word. In a land grant trial held at Denver before the United States District Court, September 13, 1883, a witness testified that the mesa now known as Sugarite was then called *Chicarica Mesa* because of the birds that lived there. They were blue and white spotted birds resembling wild pigeons. The witness, whose name was Jones, said "The Comanches gave the name to the Creek, 'Choco Rico.' The 'choco' is spotted, and 'rico' is a bird. They were birds that lived in the pine timber."[2] A brief glossary of Comanche words prepared by a Mexican scholar and published in Spanish some years ago,[3] gives the Comanche word *cocora* as *la gallina*, *i.e.*, "hen." Professor F. M. Kercheville of the Department of Spanish at the University of New Mexico, points out that the reference could be to "prairie chicken" or to the pheasant known as "road runner," and *cocora* could easily be assimilated to *chicorica*. The step from a Hispanicized-Comanche *chicorica* to traditional Spanish *chico rico* would be almost inevitable.[4] The Spanish word *chico* is an adjective meaning small. It can also be used as a noun, meaning a little boy; *rico* is an adjective meaning "rich, choice, delicious." Native informants in the vicinity say that *chico* may also be associated with a type of low sagebrush. The term is further applied to a small edible nut like the piñon nut. Place name etymologies, therefore, have ranged from "place of abundant sage" and "little rich nut" to "small rich man!"

The gap between *Chicarica* and *Sugarite* is not so wide as it first appears to be. In phonetic terms, the local Spanish pronounce the affricate *ch* as a soft semi-continuant sound and the earliest Anglo pronunciation of Sugarite was *shŏo-gȧ-rēt* not *shŏo-gȧ-rīt*. In fact, *shŏo-gȧ-rēt* is still heard. The transformations in meaning are more startling than those in form. From "place of spotted birds" to "creek of the delicious little nut" or "place of the little rich man" is in the realm of semantic fantasy. But *Chicorica* to *Sugarite* defies no laws of sound shifting. Perhaps the adjustments in meaning are no more unrealistic than the development of the name for a river

[2] W. A. Keleher, *Maxwell Land Grant* (1942), p. 89.

[3] D. Manuel García Rejón, *Vocabulario del Idioma Comanche* (Mexico, Imprenta de Ignacio Cumplido, 1866), pp. 13, 22.

[4] Professor Kercheville suggests that the Indian term is probably an onomatopoetic word like the Spanish *cacarear*, "to cackle."

in Colorado from *Purgatoire* "purgatory" to "Picketwire" or for the London Street name *Route du Roi* to "Rotten Row."

Some of our place names are still in the category of enigmas. I have not yet solved the name for the mountain and city called *Tucumcari*. Post cards sold in the city tell the story of an Apache chieftain named Wautonomah who had a daughter named Kari. She was loved by two Indian braves, Tocom and Tonopah. At the order of her father, they fought over her. Tocom was favored by Kari, and when he was slain by his rival, Kari rushed upon the triumphant suitor and killed him; then she slew herself. The distraught father cried out, "Tocom – Kari" and took his own life. The Writers' Project investigators (Work Projects Administration, Santa Fe, 1936–1940) report that this story was told by the famous Apache chieftain Geronimo. One suspects that if Geronimo didn't read it first on a postcard he heard it from some Anglo-American with a gift for storytelling. Another version relates that the maiden's name was Tucumcari and her father, the Apache chieftain, named the mountain in her honor. At present three etymologies are seriously proposed: (1) that Tucumcari is a Keresan phrase from Zia Pueblo, either *o-ku-wa-re*, "place of sand dunes," or *o-ku-wa-ri*, "wide gap place," and named when the Pueblos went over to the grassy plains to hunt buffalo; (2) a Comanche term for "two fires" since the Comanches report that they used the peak for fire and smoke signals across the valley to the plains; and (3) Apache or Comanche words for "a woman's breast," because of the outline of the peak. In *Vocabulario del Idioma Comanche* written by D. Manuel García Rejón (Mexico: Imprenta de Ignacio Cumplido, 1865), neither the Comanche words for "woman" or "breast" have any resemblance to Tucumcari.[5] However, the Comanche words for "two fires"[6] may lend support to the etymology: *cuchtonaró* "burn," *uah* "two." Two other Comanche words suggest a different name origin: they are the Comanche word for "sheep," *cuajaré*, and the word for "twenty," *tocucuahmanri*. If the Comanches named the area for sheep that grazed there belonging to the land owners

[5] Sp. *mujer*, "woman;" Comanche, *cueh*. Sp. *pecho* (la mama), "breast;" Comanche, *pitzi*.

[6] Sp. *dos*, "two;" Comanche, *uah*; Sp. *quemar*, "burn, make a fire;" Comanche, *cuchtonaró*. A. S. Barnes in *Arizona Place Names* (1935), p. 457: Tumacacori, points out that the Spanish always turned the Papago Indian "ch" to *t*, as Papago *chu-uma kakul*, "tumacacori" and *chuk-shon*, "tucson."

of the great Spanish rants south and east of Las Vegas, they could easily have combined these two words *tocucuahmanri cuajare* to name the place. "Twenty" may be the Indian generalized term for plurality. The Comanches raided the grazing herds of Spanish sheepherders in this area. The name may be "many sheep place."

South of San Ildefonso pueblo in New Mexico is a high basaltic mesa near which the Indians say the giant Tsahveeyo lived. This giant was said to prey upon children in the pueblo. He was finally slain by the Twin War Gods, who as children allowed Tsahveeyo to gulp them down; then they cut open his stomach and destroyed him. The Spanish name of the mesa is *gigantes*, "giants." Certainly before naming the spot the early settlers learned of the background in Indian lore. Of course, *gigantes* may appear as a Spanish surname, but it is rare in New Mexico. In fact, I know of no family by the name ever having lived in the state. A final illustration of language interplay is the naming of a creek in Rio Arriba County, north of the state capital of Santa Fe. It is called Coyote Creek in both the Spanish and the Indian languages. The Tewa terms are *nday*, "coyote," *poi*, "water, creek." Learning that the Tewa frequently use animals as subjects for geographical features, one concludes that the name was probably translated into Spanish rather than vice versa. The same line of reasoning applies to the name *Crystal* given to a trading post and settlement located on the Navajo Reservation in San Juan County. The Navajo name is *tquiltsili*, "crystal water flows out." The English name is probably derived from the Navajo.

As minor complexities in preparing this *Dictionary* were the use of *el* and *la*, *los* and *las* before nouns in the more formal syntax of the Spanish language. *El Rio de las Vacas*, "the river of the cows," could appear on maps in this form, or as *Rio de Vacas*, *Rio Las Vacas* or *Vacas River*. *Las Trampas*, "the traps," is sometimes dignified with *Las* and sometimes called just *Trampas*. The Spanish-English and English-Spanish parallelism continued in "cañon" and "canyon;" Cañon Blanco or White Canyon, Cañon de Manuelito or Manuel's Canyon, etc. The tilde *ñ* caused us considerable grief, for none of the American English cartographers make use of it and *Peña Blanca*, "white rock," is usually *Pena Blanca*, "pē′nȧ blăn′kȧ," instead of "pān ya;" *Cañada*, "kăn-yä′dȧ," is "kă′nȧ-dȧ;" *Cañoncita*, "kăn-yôn-sē′tȧ" is "kăn-nŏn-sē′tȧ." *Española* is "ĕs-păn-ō′lȧ" instead of "ĕs-pän-yō′lȧ." The use of accents in marking Spanish

place names was solved by simply omitting all of them in printing the place names and then marking pronunciations in the generally accepted terms, sometimes giving variants as "mă′drĭd" for *madrid* and "kī′yōt" for *Coyote.*

The Spanish *b* and *v* interchange made trouble, too. The two letters represent the same sound in Spanish and are pronounced exactly alike, but in initial position the sound is a softly pronounced plosive or stop; between vowels and before semivowels, it is a continuant. In the spelling of New Mexican place names Spanish *b* and *v* are interchangeable, *i.e.*, *Cordoba*, *Cordova*, *Gabilan*, *Gavilan*, *Laborcita*, *Lavorcita*. Where the New Mexican spelling had a strong preference we kept it. Where the prejudice in favor of the regionalism was not very strong, we substituted the standard Spanish *v* form. English *k* for Spanish *que* was another substitution which produced inconsistencies, *i.e.*, *Bosque*, *Bosky*, *Cuesta*, *Questa*. We weren't surprized in our confused linguistic world to hear the Jicarilla Apaches called the "Hickory" Indians, and we have not yet decided whether to record such pronunciations for *Santa Fe* as "sän′tá fē" or for *Raton* as "ratōo′n."

In conclusion, I would like to point out that even the name of the region and state – New Mexico – is a polyglot term. The name is of Nahuatl derivation, being *Mexitli*, an early name for Tenochtitlan, the capital city of the Aztec nation. The Nahuatl Indians were called *Azteca* from *Aztlán*, their traditional place of origin, or *Méxicas* from *Mexi*, their traditional leader when they migrated to the Valley of Mexico. *Cíbola* and *Quivira* were early names for the western area of the United States, but in 1562 a new province was created to the north of Central Mexico and it was called Nueva Vizcaya. The first governor, Don Francisco de Íbarra, seems to have been the first person to refer to the region farther north as a "nuevo Méjico." In 1598, when Don Juan de Oñate brought settlers to the area he called himself (as translated) "governor, capitan-general, and adelantado of New Mexico and of its kingdoms and provinces, as well as those in its vicinity and contiguous thereto." Thus from Aztec Indian *Mexitli* to American Spanish *Nuevo Méjico* to American English, "New Mexico," the name of the State has evolved as a typical illustration of the polyglot which will be called *The New Mexico Place Name Dictionary.*

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Names of Characters in Faulkner's *The Sound and the Fury*

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THE NAMES OF CHARACTERS in *The Sound and the Fury* provide an important key to an understanding of Faulkner's technique. The following study, in suggesting the source and significance for certain of these names, attempts to identify some of the complexities by which the novelist sought to re-enforce the effectiveness of this work.[1]

First, however, Faulkner's decided awareness of the potentialities of names should be demonstrated. This can be done by comparing examples from two of his other works: *The Unvanquished* and *Requiem for a Nun*. In the first book, Faulkner calls a certain girl "Celia Cook"; in the second, repeating the scene in which she previously appeared, he calls the same girl "Cecilia Farmer." The name "Celia Cook" is clearly a forerunner of "Cecilia Farmer" and thus can be considered as a first step in the development of the name. As a second step, "Cecilia Farmer" becomes more appropriate to Faulkner's description of the name as "frail and workless" and "paradoxical and significantless."[2] In

[1] I am indebted to Prof. George R. Stewart of the University of California for urging that this study be undertaken and for much assistance with it. The study grew out of a class project in English 208 for the spring semester of 1956 at the University of California, Berkeley.

[2] These references to the name "Cecilia Farmer" appear in "The Gaol," *Requiem for a Nun* (New York, 1951), pp. 229 and 232. The name appears here and in the first publication of "The Gaol" as a short story in *The Partisan Review* (September-October, 1951). The name "Celia Cook" appears in a similar description of the same incident in "Ambuscade," *The Unvanquished* (New York, 1938), p. 17; the incident was not included, however, when "Ambuscade" was first published in *The Saturday Evening Post* (29 September 1934). The incident is repleated in *Intruder in the Dust* (New York, 1948), but here the girl is left nameless. Thus thirteen years elapsed before "Celia Cook" emerged in Faulkner's fiction as "Cecilia Farmer."

these two examples, then, Faulkner can be seen reworking a name to fit his own specifications for it. He thus indicates a care in the selection of names that is both conscious and exacting.

Less pointed but no less indicative an example is Faulkner's reference in *The Sound and the Fury* to the name of the drummer, Dalton Ames. "It just missed gentility," he has Quentin say: "Theatrical fixture. Just papier-mache . . ."[3] Here again Faulkner indicates his intention to make a name meaningful.

In both cases, however, Faulkner has called attention to names whose meaning is superficial: the connotations of "Cecilia Farmer" are made obvious; and, whatever may be the source of the name, only a matinée-idol tawdriness is suggested by "Dalton Ames." This superficiality is to be expected, since both names are assigned to characters who are simply drawn and of minor importance. By the same token, then, it may be supposed that the names for complex characters of major importance should carry a significance that is proportionally greater. Similarly, these latter names must have been chosen with greater care. These suppostions, together with the intricate workmanship elsewhere evident in *The Sound and the Fury*, would seem to justify the following examination.

Of the four Compson children, the one who has been given the name of perhaps the most significance is the sister, Candace. At first consideration, the name "Candace" may appear to have developed from this character's more frequently used nickname, "Caddy." It is readily apparent that the confusion in the mind of the idiot brother Benjy between this nickname and the golfers' cry of "caddy!" provides a convenient point of transition between past and present in Benjy's narrative. Closer examination, however, suggests that the normal process of naming was followed here: that is, the nickname developed from the proper name. In any case, it is in "Candace" that a much deeper significance can be identified.

The chief indication of this significance is found in the repeated references by Caddy's brother Quentin to an incestuous relationship between himself and his sister (pp. 98–99, 195). Here, the subject of incest between a brother and sister may vaguely recall similar cases in literature. But when it is remembered that the

[3] *The Sound and the Fury* (New York, 1929); p. 111, Modern Library edition.

proper name of Quentin's sister is "Candace," the combination of situation and name recalls specifically Ovid's *Heroides* (Epistle XI) and the incestuous relationship there involving a sister named "Canace." These similarities cannot leave much doubt that Ovid, rather than the golfers' cry, provides a likely source for Faulkner's "Candace."

That Faulkner calls his heroine "Candace" instead of "Canace" need not refute this suggestion. In literature, the two similar names have been used interchangeably at least since the time of Chaucer; and Chaucer's annotators have not neglected to call this confusion to the attention of modern readers.[4] Thus Faulkner, through even a casual acquaintance with Chaucer, could have become aware of the significance of "Canace" and the historic mis-application of "Candace." In any case, his choice of a name that is only suggestive of incest, rather than one that is obviously associated with it, is consistent with his usual subtlety – particularly in the introduction of an incestuous relationship into *The Sound and the Fury.*

If Caddy's participation in incest were to be based only upon an irrational claim by Quentin, the idea of such a relationship might be abandoned after Quentin's admission (p. 195) that his claim was false. But after Caddy has been identified with Ovid's Canace, suspicion of her guilt cannot be put aside. Instead, Caddy's associations with her two other brothers must be investigated. Of these, Jason need hardly be considered. A careful study of the first section of the book, however, strongly suggests that Caddy is involved in incest with Benjy.[5] Obviously, if Faulkner sought to

[4] For example, Skeat notes that the confusion is evident among manuscript versions of *The Legend of Good Women*: in line 265, one of these reads "Candace," while five other versions have "Canace" or "Canacee." (Walter W. Skeat, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* [Oxford, 1899], Vol. I., p. 515.) That Chaucer meant "Canace" when he listed "Candace" as one of the women in the service of Diane in *The Parliament of Fowls* (l. 288) may be indicated in *The Man of Law's Tale*, for example, where he includes "Canacee / That loved hir owene brother synfully" in a similar collection of faithful women (ll. 78–79).

[5] An incestuous relationship between Caddy and Benjy was indicated by a chronological ordering of Benjy's section in "Each in Its Ordered Place," a paper presented by Professor Stewart and myself at a University of California English Conference, 13 November 1956. (A somewhat different version of this study appears in *American Literature* for January, 1958.) The argument for incest between Caddy and Benjy is based specifically on such passages as those from the bedroom scene (pp. 62, 63) in which Dilsey decides it dangerous for Benjy, at 13, to continue sleep-

picture Southern decadence, an incestuous affair between his heroine and her idiot brother provides the finishing touch. Here, then, the examination of a name leads to a fuller understanding of one of the novel's major themes.

Once it is determined that Caddy's shame involves Benjy, the name of this brother naturally invites examination for connotations similar to those of "Candace." Since, however, "Benjy" cannot be identified as a counterpart for the name of Canace's brother "Macareus," consideration must be directed to Benjy's original name of "Maury." Ostensibly, this name, which Benjy bore until his fifth year, came to him from his uncle, Maury Bascomb, who, in turn, might have received it from Matthew Fontaine Maury, commander of coastal defenses for the Confederacy. This, however, does not explain why Faulkner selected this name rather than that of some other Confederate patriot.

Although the answer can be no more than speculative, one explanation may be suggested. If an author were looking for a companion name for "Candace" (or "Caddy"), he might begin with "Macareus" but immediately rule this name out. Its use would be implausible when assigned to a modern American character and, like "Canace," would be baldly obvious. Therefore, in search of something more realistic and not more than vaguely suggestive, he might hit upon "Maurice." From this, a further shift to a nickname comparable to "Caddy" would quite logically produce "Maury." The proposed evolutions of the two names can be compared as follows: Canace : Candace : Caddy : :
Macareus : Maurice : Maury.

If such a process as the one outlined here can account for Faulkner's selection of "Maury," it would seem a mark of his genius that he finally did not employ "Maury" as a nickname. Thus he prevented an exact and artless parallelism.

The parallelism between "Caddy" and "Maury" is further obscured by Faulkner's changing "Maury" to "Benjy" and by his frequently directing attention to the latter name. The source of

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ing with Caddy; the significant bathroom scene (p. 88) in which Benjy says he "pushed" at Caddy; and the last scene of Caddy's wedding (p. 41) in which Benjy appears to be overpowered by sexual frustration. In support of this argument generally, there are Benjy's increasingly mature desires, his continued dependence upon Caddy, and her consistant willingness to accommodate his needs.

this name is identified most clearly through Caddy's explanation at the time of the namec-hanging that "Benjamin came out of the bible" (p. 77); in addition, Faulkner has included several references to "Benjamin the child of mine old age held hostage into Egypt" (pp. 189, 107). These allusions to the Biblical Benjamin suggest that Faulkner chose this particular name as a replacement for "Maury" to emphasize Benjy's innocence and "martydrom."[6]

A work as far removed from the classics and the Old Testament as Andrew Marvell's poem, "To His Coy Mistress," seems a possible source for the name of another brother, Quentin.[7] It should be observed first, however, that "Quentin" – like "Maury" – is not an unlikely name for members of old families in Faulkner's section of the South; and Faulkner indicates his knowledge of this in the "Appendix," where he implies that the name came down through a line of Scottish-Mississippian ancestors. In addition, Quentin's reference to himself as "Young Lochinvar" (p. 112) shows Faulkner's associating Quentin with the writing of Scott; and thus another of Scott's works, *Quentin Durward*, could have supplied the name. But the similarities between Quentin's section of *The Sound and the Fury* and the forty-six lines of Marvell's poem call for further consideration of Marvell as a source.

The most specific indication of this possibility is found in line 29 of the poem, where a paronomasia for "Quentin" is formed by the words "quaint honor." Once these words are associated with Quentin, the completed line also becomes appropriate: "And your quaint honor turn to dust." Certainly, Quentin's conception of honor is quaint; and, as in Marvell, death is to turn this honor to dust. Going beyond this line, the poem's first pair of rhyming words – "time" and "crime" -- can be read as channeling the two main courses of thought in Quentin's stream-of-consciousness. The

[6] Faulkner inaccurately extends this emphasis in his reference to Benjy in the "Appendix" (1946) to *The Sound and the Fury* as "our lastborn, sold into Egypt" (p. 19, Modern Library edition). Also, in a non-Compson story, "Go down Moses" (1941), Faulkner makes considerable use of "Benjamin sold into Egypt" as a lament for the death of a young Negro, Samuel Worsham ("Butch") Beauchamp, whose name was no more "Benjamin" than was Benjy Compson's originally. Both works point to Faulkner's somewhat exaggerated association between the name "Benjamin" and martyrdom.

[7] This suggestion was made by Prof. William M. Gibson of New York University in conversation with Professor Stewart.

first of these ideas is expanded in lines 21 to 24 of the poem, which are almost a condensation of Quentin's preoccupation with clocks and shadows:

> But at my back I always hear
> Time's winged chariot hurrying near;
> And yonder all before us lie
> Deserts of vast eternity.

The second rhyming word, "crime," might be reflected in Quentin's repeated references to incest. This is suggested specifically by Marvell's last two lines:

> . . . though we cannot make our sun
> Stand still, yet we will make him run.

These lines seem to be echoed in Quentin's explanation for falsely claiming to have committed incest with his sister (p. 195): ". . . if could tell you we did it would have been so . . . and then the world would roar away . . ."

Thus it is almost as if Faulkner, recalling Marvell's famous poem as a source for the name, had followed Marvell as a guide in shaping Quentin's mustily cavalier character. It is interesting to note that, after its use for Quentin, the name itself deteriorates, thus further supporting the novel's theme. This occurs when the name is passed on to young Quentin, Caddy's wanton daughter.

Similarly, "Jason," another name traditional in the Compson family, undergoes a final debasement when it is left to the unregenerate brother, Jason IV. Here the name, when considered with Jason's luckless pursuit of money and his ultimate frustration, is suggestive of the classical Jason and his quest for the Golden Fleece. The classical association is underlined in the "Appendix," for example, by use of the Latin "Lycurgus" as a middle name for the four Jasons.[8]

If the significance of "Jason" can be identified as classical, the name seems also to have distinctly non-classical origins. These

[8] In the text itself (p. 96), Faulkner has given Jason III the middle name of "Richmond," thus identifying the Compson family with the Confederacy. The name "Lycurgus," however, in its combination of the ideas "lie" and "cur," is appropriate to Jason IV. Another possible source for "Jason" is suggested by Prof. Carvel Collins who, in identifying Jason IV as one of three components in a Christ figure, points out that "Jason" stood for "Jesus" among Hellenized Jews. ("The Pairing of *The Sound and the Fury* and *As I Lay Dying*," *The Princeton University Library Chronicle*, XVIII, 3 [Spring, 1957], p. 117.) That Faulkner had knowledge of this latter source, however, cannot be ascertained.

can best be traced with the source of the surname "Compson." In examining the latter, it should be noted that the surnames of many of Faulkner's characters are identical with actual surnames familiar to him. The name "Patterson" in the novel under study, for example, is still in current use in Faulkner's small town of Oxford, Mississippi. In the same novel, another surname, "Snopes," is only slightly removed from the actual Oxford surname, "Snipes." Similarly, "Jason Compson" is enough like the actual name, "Jacob Thompson," to warrant consideration of this as an additional source. This suggestion can be strengthened by external evidence: for example, the Thompson lot in the Oxford cemetery is very like the Compson lot in *The Sound and the Fury.*

It may be supposed that Faulkner hit upon the name of this actual pioneer family when he conceived a family of similar background for his fiction, and that his selection of the specific name was due to the Biblical connotation of "Jacob." The name would have been applicable for the father (Jason III), if Faulkner had already decided upon "Benjamin" as the name of one of the sons. If, then, Faulkner sought to alter the actual name for use in fiction, "Jacob" would almost certainly have suggested "Jason," a name ironically suited to the character that finally emerged in Jason IV.

For Jason and for other members of the family, a fictional surname is clearly demanded by the novel's theme. This demand seems to have been met by Faulkner's combining "Thompson" with "Compton," another common name possibly suggested to him by its similarity to "Thompson." To the reader, the resulting "Compson" appears as familiar as either of the actual names and yet is wholly the author's own. As such, it can be exploited freely in the novel.

After "Jason," the only other Compson name to be considered is that of the children's mother, Caroline Bascomb. First, her maiden name, "Bascomb," not uncommon in the South, might have been chosen to suggest the difference in background between her family and her husband's. As a possible contraction of "base come," this name would be consistent with Mrs. Compson's persistent expression of her own family's inferiority; and, as such, it would represent a typical Faulknerian subtlety in a tradition of character-naming that includes, for example, Thackeray's "Newcomes." Mrs. Compson's position is reflected, too, in her first name. In *Sartoris*, a novel published eight months before *The*

Sound and the Fury, "Caroline" is the name of a character who is obviously an interloper among Mississippians and "Carolina" that of a state that is pointedly foreign. In the later work, the connotations of both variations of the name might reasonably be expected to carry over, thus adding emphasis to Mrs. Compson's alienation.

Also to be considered are the names of the Compson Negroes, most of which are simply corruptions of given names. For example, "Frony" can be seen to evolve from "Euphronia," when it is noted that a cook in *Sartoris* bears the transitional name of "Euphrony." Similarly, "Luster" would stand for "Lester," "Dilsey" for "Dulce," "Versh" for "Virgil" and "Roskus" for "Roscius." Only the source of the initials "T. P." is entirely conjectural; it can be suggested, however, that, as the name of an ordinary but indispensable household servant, they may be wryly suited to one who plays this role.

As for significance, some of these names describe specifically the person to whom they are assigned. For example, the literal meaning of "Dulce" is appropriate to one of Dilsey's generous and amiable disposition. More generally, the simplification of white men's elaborate names by Faulkner's Negroes may indicate a characteristic that is fundamental to them: that is, an easy-going acceptance of things that enables them to "endure" the sound and fury of a dying aristocracy. At the same time, the humor inherent in these slip-shod approximations of names provides a comic spirit that is otherwise all but absent in the novel.

Beyond the names thus far discussed, there seem to be no others that warrant detailed examination. Those remaining fall between two categories: one is represented by "Mrs Bland," the significance of which is probably meant to be literal; and the other by "Mr MacKenzie," the significance of which seems inconsequential. For the most part, however, the names of characters in this work have provided a basis for its further interpretation. If they have been drawn from a wide and unrelated variety of literary and historical reference, they can be seen to achieve a harmony of meaning within the novel that extends its theme. Examined together, then, these names indicate something more than Faulkner's method of composition. The success with which he has brought them together not only attests to his skill as a novelist but also represents an ultimate utilization of character names in literature.

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ELSDON C. SMITH

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To the list of those serving on the Membership Committee for 1958 should be added:

Region B: James B. McMillan, University of Alabama Press, University, Alabama.
Thomas Pyles, Department of English, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.
Claude Henry Neuffer, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina.

Region J: Arthur Minton, R.F.D. 3, New Milford, Connecticut.

Many thanks go to each of these. May their efforts continue and may the membership increase greatly. Each of the forty-nine states is now represented. Can we double the membership in 1959?

Margaret M. Bryant, President

Review

American English. By Albert H. Marckwardt. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958. pp. xi + 185, map, appendix, index. $4.50).

In American English Professor Marckwardt describes the principal variations between the language of the United States and that of Great Britain, and within the United States itself, as to vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar. As the variations are described, they are accounted for in terms of processes observable in American linguistic and cultural history. The book attempts to present its material "in the light of a consistent interpretation centering about the fundamental relationship between language and culture." (vii) "Whole topics – such as immigrant English, slang, and technical vocabularies – have either been omitted entirely or touched upon very slightly because they seem to have only a minor bearing upon the principal thesis . . ." (viii) There is a separate chapter devoted to names in American English and a concluding chapter on the future of English.

Any new book in this field suggests comparison to its outstanding predecessors – Krapp's *The English Language in America*, Mencken's *The American Language*, and Pyles's *Words and Ways of American English.* The present book is, first of all, more concise than the earlier books in the field. Rather than presenting encyclopedic reference material in the Mencken manner, Marckwardt has selected his data carefully, with a view to illustrating his thesis as economically as possible. Only in Chapter 5, "Yankee Ingenuity and the Frontier Spirit," does one feel that the inherent interest of the examples has caused the author temporarily to lose sight of his principal purpose. Second, as is to be expected, the Marckwardt book is based on more recent scholarship than any of its predecessors and, therefore, supplements these earlier works in some respects and corrects mistakes in others. The most valuable supplement is Chapter 7, "Regional and Social Variations," which makes available to the general reader information previously contained only in highly specialized sources. There are, however, as will be indicated below, errors that need correction and questions

that need to be answered in the Marckwardt book itself. Third, *American English* gives a more unified synthesis of its materials than any of its predecessors. For this reason alone it merits the attention of the general reader who is seeking an introduction to the field. Finally, Professor Marckwardt's writing is clear and straight-forward – remarkably free of the jargon which professional linguists so often find essential to the expression of their thought. The book has been unjustly criticized on this point by slick reviewers in the *New Yorker* and elsewhere who are unfamiliar with the field. While lacking the reference value of Mencken or Krapp, the literary style of Mencken, and some of the insights of Pyles, Marckwardt's *American English* is, nevertheless, probably the best currently available introduction to its field.

The differences between British and American English may, according to Professor Marckwardt, be due to (1) differences between the local British dialects which originally formed the bases of the two languages, (2) foreign influences that have been exerted on one national language – most notably American English – and not on the other, and (3) internal developments that have occurred in the language of one nation but not of the other. Marckwardt sees the internal developments peculiar to American English as a series of revolts from and compensating adjustments to linguistic tratition. Thus there is the initial "colonial lag" observable in Latin American Spanish and Canadian French as well as American English, which is responsible for the preservation of archaisms and forms that have become obsolete in Europe. These features tend to be overshadowed, however, by the linguistic inventiveness customarily associated with the American frontier. The excesses of frontier language, in turn, prepare the way for the harsh restrictions of the American school marm, the pruderies of the Genteel Tradition, and the glorification of the commonplace in things linguistic as well as cultural. Finally, in our own century, there has been a revolt against both linguistic and social Victorianism, as represented by these previous movements.

It seems to this reviewer that Marckwardt has quite convincingly demonstrated the fact of colonial lag in American English and its parallelism with lag in other colonial languages and in other aspects of American culture. His efforts to account rationally for colonial lag have not been so successful. He states (80), "in a trans-

planted civilization, as ours undeniably is, certain features which it originally possessed remain static over a period of time. Transplanting usually results in a time lag before the organism, be it a geranium or a brock trout, becomes adapted to its new environment. There is no reason why the same principle should not apply to a people, their language, and their culture." One sees in this argument a mere analogy rather than a cause-and-effect relationship. We may well inquire, is there any reason why the same principle *should* apply to the development of a geranium, a brook trout, and the language and culture of a people?

As was suggested above, the book contains a number of details that require correction, amplification, or further investigation. It should be realized that these form a very small part of the entire work and that, in pointing out such matters at some length, this review is not attempting to condemn the book itself. We are told, for example (13), that the Shakespearean pronunciation of the diphthong in *house* and *loud* was "quite similar to that which may be heard at the present time in tidewater Virginia or in the Toronto area." I am not informed about the distribution of the Canadian diphthong, but the sound in question occurs in Virginia only before voiceless consonants. *House* is a proper example, but *loud* (or, for that matter, *houses*) is not. A problem of grammatical terminology arises (19) in connection with a discussion of a passage from Bradford's *History of Plimmoth Plantation*. We are told, "Almost at the beginning of the passage, *other* was used as a plural pronoun, although the modern form *others* appears later on." While realizing that the author does not wish to introduce innovations of grammatical terminology in a book intended for the general reader, it is, nevertheless, difficult to see what is gained by calling *other* and *others* plural pronouns. A more exact description would say that the nominal use of the modifier *other* has led to its adjustment to the noun inflection, with a regular plural *others* and regular genetive forms *other's* and *others'*.

In discussing foreign influences on American English, Marckwardt does not make it immediately clear whether he is talking about the immediate sources or the ultimate known sources of words borrowed from foreign languages. There are reasons for both approaches. Thus, the reader may become aware that Marckwardt is discussing immediate sources, which are important indicators of

the cultural contacts of speakers of American English; but he will fail to realize that a language like Nahuatl has contributed a number of important words to English through the intermediary of Spanish. Another matter which is not made clear until too late is precisely what the author considers an Americanism to be. One is struck by the absence, on the list of words borrowed from Spanish, of important words like *tomato*, *barbecue*, *chocolate*, and *mosquito* — all borrowed from Spanish in America at an early period. We learn later that words taken from American into British English and thus no longer distinctly American are not included in Marckwardt's examples. Even so, he is not entirely consistent on this point, using *mosquito* (46) to illustrate American word compounding. *Frijole* and *tamale* (41) are interesting examples of back-formation, and the fact should have been noted. Since the Spanish forms are *frijol* and *tamal*, the American English words must derive from the Spanish plurals, *frijoles* and *tamales*.

It is difficult to see that *carryall* represents folk etymology, except in spelling. If one substitutes the nearest American English phonemes for the French in *carriole*, he obtains a form best represented by the spelling *carryall*. There are in place names like Smackover and the Picketwire and Lemon Fair rivers much better examples of folk etymology operating on words borrowed from French. With reference to *depot* (39) its pronunciation in British and American usage is perhaps as interesting as its semantic history. *Apache* (39) is borrowed from French only when it refers to a Parisian gangster and related meanings. In this sense, however, it has a pseudo-French pronunciation and is no more characteristic of American than of British English.

The pronunciation of Spanish loan words in American English (44) merits much greater attention than Marckwardt gives it. Several fairly regular developments, as illustrated by the second vowel of *vamoose*, the initial consonant of *chaps*, or the stress shift often heard in *lasso* (also in place names like *Juarez* and personal names like *Chavez*) remain unaccounted for.

The vowel sound represented by *oe* in Dutch (50) is, according to Bloomfield, *Spoken Dutch*, p. 12, like the vowel of English *shoot* but with briefer duration -- not like the vowel of *pull*, as Marckwardt indicates. The form *cole slaw* (51) provides a rare example of linguistic influence on culture rather than vice versa, and perhaps

ought to have been commented on. Since the term is often folk etymologized as *cold slaw*, there has been invented in some areas a *hot slaw* to complete the contrast.

There is some confusion in Marckwardt's use of the terms *specialization* and *generalization* in discussing semantic history (66). These terms may be most clearly applied to the new meaning alone, rather than to the entire range of meaning that a word acquires by the addition of a new meaning. Marckwardt, however, seems to use the terms with the latter application in the following passage: "The newer British meaning was not always in the direction of a greater precision, narrowness, or specialization. Quite as frequently the opposite development occurred, and the word assumed a broader significance in England. For instance, *chemist* was expanded in England to include those who prepared and sold medicinal drugs." The new meaning, however, is no more general than the old; generalization can apply only to the entire range of meaning after the creation of the additional sense.

Conventional explanations of *luggage* as British and *baggage* as American (except in the special senses applied to women and to military impedimenta) have never seemed entirely adequate, but Marckwardt repeats them (66–7). Certainly most Americans buy *luggage* (or *bags*) at a *luggage shop* (or *store*), and refer to the articles as *baggage* only after they have been packed for travel.

One cannot be sure just what is meant by the statement (71) that although no more than 150 words have the vowel of *cat* in America but that of *father* in England, at least three times as many have the vowel of *cat* regularly in both speech communities. Certainly 450 is a gross underestimate of the total number of words that have the vowel of *cat* in both American and British English. One might suppose that the author meant to limit his statement to words in which the vowel in question is followed by a voiceless fricative or a nasal, except that he proceeds to give *hat*, *lamb*, *sand*, *bag*, *cap*, *ham*, and *hand* as examples. Even if limited to monosyllables, 450 is probably a considerable underestimate.

It is puzzling that the author chooses to discuss differences in the occurrence of postvocalic *r* between British and American English, solely in terms of words like *earth*, *firm*, *turn*, and *word*, in which the *r* has coalesced phonetically with the vowel. The meaningful statements that can be made about these words (70–2)

apply equally well to all words with postvocalic *r* before a consonant or a pause. Similarly, the comparisons of pronunciation of words with *hw* (74) apply to a wider range of words in which British English loses an *h* retained in America. *Wharf*, incidentally, is a particularly unfortunate example of American retention of *h*, since many Americans who otherwise regularly retain *h* in *hw* lose it in this one word.

Although it is true that urban America and many smaller towns as well have substituted *lunch* and *dinner* for earlier *dinner* and *supper* (118), the older usage is by no means dead in more remote rural areas. On the other hand, experience does not bear out findings of the Linguistic Atlas that the vowels of *hoarse* and *horse* remain distinct throughout the Northern speech area (139). Loss of distinction between these vowels, which seems to have begun rather recently in Pennsylvania and the North Midlands, has proceeded apace so that today the younger generation makes the distinction only in parts of Eastern New England and in most of the South and South Midland (i. e. from Virginia to Oklahoma).

Sick to his stomach is by no means limited to uneducated usage in the North, as Marckwardt's statements (140) seem to imply. There are also situations, e. g. *ten gallon hat*, in which educated usage requires the unchanged plural after numbers (147). One may doubt that constructions like *us girls* (148) as subject of the sentence are exclusively sub-standard.

Turning from the consideration of minor details, we will take up the final chapters on names in American English and the future of the English language. It is encouraging to see that general books on American English continue to include a discussion of names, even when only the most summary statement can be made, as in the present case. Professor Marckwardt's treatment of the subject is sound, although he is able to include little that will be of interest to the specialist in onomastics.

In concluding his book with a discussion of the future of English, the author forsakes the role of linguistic scientist – the field is not now and may never be so scientific as to permit its practitioners to predict the future accurately. Nevertheless, Professor Marckwardt's speculations in this area are cautious and, in the main, eminently reasonable. One might merely suggest, however, that the future of the English language will be determined more by the

political, economic, and cultural success of English-speaking people than by any qualities of the language or its writing system themselves.

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A Dictionary of British Surnames. By Percy Hide Reaney. (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958. pp. lxii, 366. 70s.).

Here is a major contribution to English onomatology by Dr. P. H. Reaney who retired from teaching in 1950 at the age of sixty. Dr. Reaney is not unknown to students of names as he has been quite active in the affairs of the English Place-Name Society having prepared its volumes, *The Place-Names of Essex* (1935) and *The Place-Names of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely* (1943). This work on British surnames is his first important study of personal names, although he has published several excellent periodical articles.

The first dictionary of surnames published in the British Isles was *A Dictionary of the Family Names of the United Kingdom* by Mark Antony Lower, in 1860. Next came Henry Barber's *British Family Names*, London, 1894, second edition, 1902, neither edition being particularly important. After his death Charles Wareing Bardsley's *A Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames with Special American Instances* was published in London in 1901, a work which has received much commendation from scholars. Following this came the important two-volume work of Henry Harrison, *Surnames of the United Kingdom*, London, 1912–1918. After Mr. Harrison's work no other general British dictionary was published until now, forty years later, we have Dr. Reaney's work.

Having compiled a *Dictionary of American Family Names* this reviewer can examine this work and see the multitude of problems that confronted Dr. Reaney at every turn and it was most interesting to observe in what manner he resolved them. In many cases this reviewer could note (perhaps with malicious satisfaction) that the solution was no more evident to Dr. Reaney than it had been years before when this reviewer wrestled with them; in many other cases Dr. Reaney has worked out reasonable solutions.

Like all of his predecessors, Dr. Reaney starts out with an excellent introduction to the subject covering forty-two pages. Here

he focuses the attention of the reader on the pitfalls arising from the early corruption and variation in the spelling and form of surnames, and notes that the early bynames were not hereditary names but merely temporary descriptions.

Calling attention to the usual four-fold division of surnames into (1) local surnames, (2) surnames of relationship, (3) surnames of occupation or office, and (4) nicknames, Dr. Reaney correctly says that there is considerable overlapping and a full and accurate classification is impossible. John *atte Gate* may have lived near a gate or he may have made his living as a gate-keeper. Names were adopted in different places by many people who had no conscious perception of rules; thus only the most general principles can be applied.

In the brief discussion of local surnames the effect, on the final form, of the preposition found with most early instances is explained. The preposition enters into names like *Attlee* and *Byfield* as well as names like *Nash* and *Rash*, among others.

Although most surnames of relationship are patronymics, that is, names which indicate relationship to the father, Dr. Reaney emphasizes the fact there are others, such as the early *Prestcosyn* (cousin of the priest) and *Hannewyf* (Hans' wife), and the metronymics, that is, names which refer to the mother. Names terminating in *-son* in early documents, rather than containing the Latin *filius*, are evidence of the later change by the clerk to the popular, spoken forms. Dr. Reaney does not subscribe to the commonly accepted view that surnames which consist only of a font name arose from a scribal dropping of *filius*, but regards them simply as scribal descriptions from ordinary conversation, and there is much to be said for his theory. Important lists of Old English and Scandinavian personal names which have survived in modern surnames are given.

The often puzzling terminal *-s* in various surnames is discussed. Besides being a sign of the genitive in some cases, the plural in others, and referring to son in other instances, it probably designates the servant in a great many names, according to Dr. Reaney. In some cases where the person named is a woman the final *-s* may indicate a widow or wife. Sometimes, however, it is only the result of a dialectal pronunciation.

The many surnames derived from pet forms of Christian names are examined and the fact recognized that they originate in so many different ways that proper rules cannot be formulated. Numerous diminutive forms are listed by Dr. Reaney.

Overlapping between local surnames and occupational names is mentioned. For example, Dr. Reaney says that Bridge, Bridger and Bridgeman may designate the keeper of a bridge, especially one where tolls had to be collected, but these names could also refer to one who lived near the bridge. Other names, such as Kitchen and Kitchener could be only occupational in origin.

The English onomatologist, C. L'Estrange Ewen, vigorously contended, in his writings, that few surnames were of the nickname variety and endeavored to find other explanations for most that so appeared. Perhaps Dr. Reaney goes to the other extreme. While observing that no full and satisfactory classification of descriptive surnames can be attempted, he states unequivocally that many modern surnames were originally nicknames, although some are unintelligible and the meaning of many is doubtful. Many of the coarser description of physical attributes or peculiarities have, of course, disappeared.

With respect to the time when surnames became hereditary Dr. Reaney notes that there is little, existing, real evidence, but he does quote some names which are substantial evidence -- the best that can be obtained at present -- warning, however, that most of the available data refers to the upper classes. He observes that definite information on the development of hereditary surnames among the common folk is difficult to find.

In a short space Dr. Reaney has gone deeper into the evidence for the heredity of names than most writers. He notes the importance of comparing different documents of different periods relating to the same village. For example, two surveys of the manors of the Bishop of Ely, in Suffolk, are dated 1221 and 1277 respectively, and contain many surnames. In many parishes some of the same surnames are found in both years and are also found in the subsidy of 1327. Dr. Reaney concludes that such surnames were hereditary even though they are few in number compared to the total names listed.

The late, post-sixteenth century development of Welsh hereditary surnames is discussed. The material for the study of Scottish

surnames, while later than the English, is earlier than the Welsh. Highland names were increased in popularity through the practices of the clan chiefs multiplying their followers by conciliation, by coercion and even by bribery; all assumed the clan name. A clan surname does not necessarily indicate a member of the clan by blood. The Irish are said to have taken hereditary surnames very early, but substantial evidence is lacking and patronymics may have been confused with hereditary surnames. Many anglicized their surnames among both the Irish and the Scots.

The squib on the jacket claims that the work treats of some 20,000 surnames all of which are still in use today. This is not 20,000 different names, but 20,000 different forms and spellings, most names having several different forms and spellings.

Serious students of personal names may wish that Dr. Reaney had listed all the onomastic works he consulted in one place instead of concealing some of them in his list of abbreviations. There seems to be no proper distinction between his "Abbreviations" and "Other Works Consulted."

Most entries list early forms with citations followed by derivations. Not all of the entries in the dictionary are uniform in the information given, but this is a defect almost inherent in the nature of the work as anyone who has compiled a dictionary will testify. Sometimes the meaning of the forename forming the patronymic is given, sometimes not.

Having published, just two years ago, *A Dictionary of American Family Names*, this reviewer could pick out various names where he disagreed with Dr. Reaney safe in the assurance that there would be no reply, but such carping criticism would be of little value to one wishing a comprehensive review as a fair description of the book. Every compiler of a dictionary must start with what has been produced in the past, be grateful for the labor of his predecessors, and build from where they left off.

To criticize a work of this kind because it does not contain all British surnames is shortsighted. It would be objecting to a work merely because it is not perfect. Even the New English Dictionary in thirteen large volumes, the results of the work of many hands over a long lifetime, does not contain all the words in the English language. Many fail to understand the restrictions placed upon the author of a work of this kind in order to make it commercially ac-

ceptable to a publisher. As Dr. Reaney says in his preface, "This has meant a strict economy in examples and in exposition and the elimination from the first draft of some 100,000 words and 4,000 names." In view of the high quality of the book before us it is a matter of regret to every student of onomatology that commercial publication prevents us from seeing all of the results of Dr. Reaney's brilliant work.

In compiling a dictionary of surnames one soon discovers that real evidence of the origin of any particular name is difficult to find, and, of course, is entirely lacking in the overwhelming majority of cases. Reliance must therefore necessarily be placed on the indefinite rules and principles underlying the formation of surnames as discovered by the researcher after long study, keeping in mind the danger signs and pitfalls that abound in the subject.

Some writers acquire a certain feeling for names after intensive study of the principles of naming; others while etymologically sound, with a deep grasp of philological principles, constantly fail to distinguish between the possible origins of a name and do not emphasize that origin dictated by strictly onomatological principles. The real expert is naturally guessing as to the origin of particular names, but his guesses are supported by an intelligent understanding of the subject. Dr. Reaney has this scholarly, but common sense, understanding of his subject.

To summarize, here is an impressive, comprehensive dictionary of British family names prepared by a competent scholar which is undoubtedly as accurate as can be prepared by any one man with the material now available. All those interested in English personal names will have to acquire a copy. It will be the standard authority for British surnames for many years to come. All onomatologists will be grateful to Dr. Reaney for this admirable achievement.

Elsdon C. Smith

Deutschlands Ortsnamen als Denkmäler europäischer Vorzeit. By Hans Bahlow. (Hamburg: [Verlag des Verfassers] 1957. DM 8.–).

The present work appears to be a continuation of Bahlow's *Namenforschung als Wissenschaft* (1955).[1] In forty-six chapters of

[1] Reviewed in *Names*, Vol. III, No. 4, December 1955. See also the review by Heinrich Wesche in *Niederdeutsches Jahrbuch*, Vol. 80, 1957, pp. 133–135.

approximately one page each Bahlow takes up a like number of prehistoric "Namenwörter" of Celtic or "Indo-European-Celtic" stamp which he finds in etymologizing place-names, especially the names of rivers, streams, and the like. Germany is of course the focus, but most of the rest of Western Europe and the British Isles ultimately are drawn into consideration. The undertaking is in itself a worthy one, and the author's stated desire to apply a precise methodology would be laudable – if only the desire were realized. Unfortunately the methodology is anything but precise and scientific and is based on several assumptions which seem to the reviewer to be of very doubtful validity, if they are not actually fallacious.

In Celtic Bahlow chose a field which is reputedly difficult to work in and is no place for a dilettante. The reviewer makes no pretense at being a specialist in Celtic and will therefore leave those lines of criticism to others who have greater familiarity with that field, although the review of Bahlow's earlier work by Wesche is suggestive of what the nature of such criticism might be.

The assumptions already mentioned, however, are not related specifically to Celtic, but rather to the general method. A reader's reaction to the book will depend to a large extent upon whether he can accept the basic assumptions or not. I will therefore devote most of the following remarks to this aspect rather than to any attempt at a detailed discussion of specific words. The forty-six basic words which Bahlow treats (listed on page 4) all ultimately mean "bog, morass, swamp-water" or something very similar. The method of demonstrating this is as follows: in *Dinklar*, *Dinklage*, etc., the element *dink-* is shown to be a "Gewässerwort" by its combination with *-lar* and *-lage* which the author tells us mean "Sumpf" or "Sumpfniederung," and thus *dink-* can only mean "Sumpf, Morast" (page 17). One example is sufficient, since the same procedure is used repeatedly.

The first assumption is that the only type of compound found is the copulative noun compound. This is never clearly stated but is essential to the whole argument. If any other type is at all possible the method collapses, since no sure equation could be established between the first and second members of the compound. Bahlow never pauses to consider what light other older Indo-European languages might throw upon the problem. If we limit ourselves to Celtic(-Germanic) then, the assumption could never be absolutely

disproven – at least not for the author – since, as it would seem, no place-name, no matter how obvious its derivation, can withstand Bahlow's Celtic onslaught. One example: the English *Fal-(low)field* contains the "idg.-kelt. Gewässerwort" *val* which means (of course) "Sumpf" (page 43).

The second assumption, which depends upon an acceptance of the first, is that if we know the second element of a compound means "swamp," the first element must also mean exactly that. Although this assumption is necessary for the analysis as indicated above, even Bahlow is forced to find "swamp" combined with second elements meaning "brook" and "river" for example (page 47). To be sure, these latter are semantically not too far removed from the former, but if they are admitted, then we can not "scientifically" analyze an element of otherwise unknown meaning as being absolutely a "Morastwort" or anything like it – as Bahlow does repeatedly. With these two basic assumptions the author tacitly operates throughout the book.

I feel that one other general remark must be made. This concerns Bahlow's attitude toward his own work and toward that of others. The author's satisfaction with himself and his methods is clearly indicated on the first page (page 3) and continues to be emphasized; his disdain for his predecessors (espacially Bach and Schröder) is profound. The introductory paragraph of almost every chapter contains gems of sarcasm, but the reader may well ask himself what place these attacks – which border on the scurrilous – have in any work which purports to be scholarly. Note 2 on page 47 is an example of gross misrepresentation, as may be seen by checking the source. If there were no other factors, this one alone would make the reader seriously question the scholarship of the author, and Bahlow's penchant for dogmatic statements on the psychology of prehistoric man does not serve to restore anyone's confidence in the general approach. What is the authority (other than divine inspiration, perhaps) for a statement that early man distinguished merely between flowing and stagnate water (page 5), or that the use of abstract concepts such as "Flußkrümmung" in naming rivers contradicts early man's capacity for abstraction (page 22)? Bahlow's predecessors certainly have not always found the right answer, but just as certainly neither has he, and his attitude is unbecoming to say the very least.

Bahlow's documentation is rather limited and often not especially satisfactory. There is an index – an advance over the earlier work which lacked any – but let the reader be warned that it is by no means complete. If there are any pearls to be gleaned from this work, it will require much diligent and painstaking effort to locate them. This is truly regrettable, since much time and effort could easily have been saved.

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Kanadijs'ki miscevi nazvy ukrajins'koho poxodžennja. By J. B. Rudnyc'kyj. Third edition. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences; Series: Onomastica. 1957. 89 pp. $1.00.

Professor J. B. Rudnyc'kyj's *Canadian Place Names of Ukrainian Origin* in its third edition has been very carefully revised and is almost twice as large as the first edition in 1949. The book is the result of some ten years vigilant work, which has required a stubborn delving into archives as well as long journeys along Canada and conversations with many Ukrainian settlers.

The first Ukrainian immigrants arrived to Canada in 1891 or earlier. During the following decades the immigration has greatly increased and, in fact, never stopped. According to the 1951 census there were 395,043 Canadians of Ukrainian descent, but the actual number of these beyond any doubt is much higher. Being exclusively peasants and devoted to agriculture, the Ukrainian immigrants settled on the prairies in rather compact masses. Simultaneously, they gave Ukrainian names to their newly founded villages and towns. Many of these names had been officially recognized by the government, listed on maps, in various directories, etc.

As stated in the foreword, Professor Rudnyc'kyj has counted "some 180 Ukrainian names of post offices, railroad stations, villages, church squares and church yards" (p. 12) in Canada. All of these are listed in the book alphabetically with their brief geography and history as well as with their etymology. Those not yet recognized officially are marked by an asterisk.

The great variety of the Ukrainian place names in Canada might be divided into two distinctive types: (I) transplanted toponymics, such as Borshchiv, Brody, Zbarazh, New Kiev, Kolomea, Kharkiv, Poltava (from the names of the cities in Ukraine), Bukowyna, Sich,

Ukraina (from the names of the regions in Ukraine as well as the whole country), Dnipro, Zbruch, Stry (from the names of the rivers in Ukraine) and (2) transferred names, such as Kulish (from the name of a Ukrainian writer), Mazeppa (from the name of a Ukrainian Hetman), Petlura (from the name of a Ukrainian political leader), Sirko (from the name of a Ukrainian Cossack leader or "koshovy" of the 17th century), Franko (from the name of a Ukrainian writer), Khmel'nyc'kyj (from the name of a Ukrainian Hetman of the 17th century), Shevchenko (from the name of the greatest Ukrainian poet), etc.

On the other hand, we note some twenty peculiar names of town squares, church squares and other areas, such as Kolo Koval'chuka (lit. translation: "near Koval'chuk" – a surname), Kolo Kamins'kykh ("near the Kamins'kyjs"), Kolo Huculiv ("near the Huculs").

The arrangement of the place names in the book is excellent in every respect. The Ukrainian forms are accompanied by their correspondingly transliterated English forms – the latter are actually in the official use. Many of the place names are also accompanied by the respective bibliography in Ukrainian, English, German, Polish and other languages.

Ukrainian onomastica is a rather young science. Its beginning dates from the end of the 19th century but only in occasional appearance. Professor Rudnyc'kyj was one of the first to work professionally and consistently in this field. He has greatly contributed to it by the *Canadian Place Names of Ukrainian Origin* as well as by his many other papers published during the last twenty years. Some ten of them dealing with toponymic problems, etymologies of place names, etc., have been republished in the volume *Studies in Onomastics* (1958). We hope to review this book another time.

U. S. Army Language School Yar Slavutych

Several readers have called to the Editor's attention a most unfortunate jumbling of type that occurred in Chas. Edgar Gilliam's "*Ajacan*, the Algonkian Name for Hampton Roads, Vitginia", vol. VI, p. 58. The text should of course read as follows: "Thus one may be very certain that, the natives having no term to distinguish between 'crossing over,' 'crossing by,' and 'crossing on' water, when they were picked up by Spanish mariners and systematically questioned as to where 'a crossing by water,' connecting with the Western Sea, joined the Atlantic they immediately apprehended" etc. The Editor offers his sincere apologies.

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Hans Bahlow, *Alteuropas Namenwelt*. Hamburg, 1958.

Beiträge zur Namenforschung, vol. 9, no. 2.

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George R. Stewart, *Names on the Land*, rev. and enlarged ed., Boston, 1958.

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